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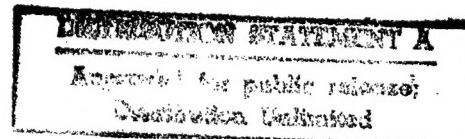


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# **JPRS Report**

# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***



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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Grishkyavichus Interviewed on Political, Economic Education (Pyatras Pyatrovich Grishkyavichus Interview; POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 5, May 87) .....	1
Uzbek Supreme Soviet Meets on Elections, Military Obligations (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 18 Apr 87) .....	7
Elements of Old Style Noted at Session of Uzbek Supreme Soviet (G. Dimov; IZVESTIYA, 8 Jun 87) .....	10
Afghan Vets, War Dead Honored in Georgia's Rustavi (D. Bitsadze; KOMUNISTI, 8 Apr 87) .....	14
Lack of 'Modesty' Brings Georgian Party Official's Downfall (G. Giorgadze; KOMUNISTI, 9 Apr 87) .....	14
Kirghiz Raykom First Secretary Fired for Incompetence (A. Kenesariyeva; SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 4 Jun 87) .....	16

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Supreme Court Member on Litigation Against Journalists (Petr Yakovlevich Trubnikov Interview; ZHURNALIST, No 2, Feb 87) .....	17
---	----

#### HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

Popular History of Georgia Published (Levan Sanikidze; KOMUNISTI, 5 Apr 87) .....	25
--	----

Exiled Georgian Writer, Gorkiy Linked in Mourning Lenin (Otar Egadze; LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, No 15, 10 Apr 87) .....	25
<b>RELIGION</b>	
Believers Win Dispute Over Church Construction (Sergey Vlasov; OGONEK, No 13, Mar 87) .....	27
Shortcomings in Georgian Atheistic Work Examined (Davit Gegeshidze; KOMUNISTI, 17 Apr 87) .....	36
<b>CULTURE</b>	
Premiere of 'Repentance' Announced in Moscow (VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, 28 Jan 87) .....	38
Moscow Weekly Interviews Director of 'Repentance' Tengiz Abuladze; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 25 Feb 87) .....	40
'Repentance' Villains 'Still With Us', Says Georgian Reviewer (Levan Sanikidze; SABCHOTA KHELOVNEBA, No 4, Apr 87) ....	48
<b>SOCIAL ISSUES</b>	
Jurist Reflects While Reviewing Narcotics-Related Capital Crime (O. Yakomenko; RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, 27 May 87) .....	53
LiSSR MVD Official Describes Fight Against Drug Abuse (Yustinas Vasiliuskaus Interview; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 17 May 87) .....	57
Georgian Public Opinion Institute Publicizes Drug Problems (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 10 Feb 87) .....	60
Thefts of Cars, Personal Property in Latvia Cause Concern (N. Ryzhnikov; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 31 Mar 87) .....	63
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Examines Kazakh Housing Abuses (Aleksandr Samoylenko; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 11 Mar 87) .	66
IZVESTIYA Criticizes Turkmen Building Program (V. Kuleshov; IZVESTIYA, 18 Mar 87) .....	73
Georgian Writers Blamed for Not Denouncing 'Tyrants' (Givi Alkhazishvili; LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, No 14, 3 Apr 87) .....	78
Modesty, Other Virtues 'Devalued' in Georgian Society (Vazha Gogoberidze; KOMUNISTI, 21 Apr 87) .....	79
Adjarian Anti-Narcotic Efforts Examined (M. Gorgiladze; KOMUNISTI, 21 Apr 87) .....	79

REGIONAL ISSUES

Leningrad Official Interviewed on Individual Labor Activity (Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Bukin Interview; LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 29 Apr 87) .....	81
Talyzin on Measures To Protect Lake Baykal (Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin Interview; PRAVDA, 10 May 87) .....	85
Latvian Raykom Secretary Elected (SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 5 Mar 87) .....	90
First Secretary Elected, by K. Zagorovskaya	90
Pugo Comments on Election, by B.K. Pugo	94
Turkmen Settlers in Amur Profiled (V. Sinyutin; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 12 Mar 87) .....	96
Georgian Opponent of Trans-Caucasus Railroad Rebutted (Vakhtang Licheli; LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO, No 13, 27 Mar 87) .....	100
Briefs	
Azerbaijan Population Growth	106

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

GRISHKYAVICHUS INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC EDUCATION

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 5, May 87 (signed to press 20 Apr 87) pp 74-78

[Interview with Pyatras Pyatrovich Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, conducted by the Editorial Board; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] First of all, Pyatras Pyatrovich, I would like to find out your opinion about the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in Restructuring the Workers' Political and Economic Training System," which has been published in the press, and its significance?

[Answer] I think that we must proceed from the general directions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum when evaluating this important document. Comrade M. S. Gorbachev spoke in the report during the Plenum about the need "to place a solid foundation of confidence" under the enormous work that is connected with the struggle to normalize society. The CPSU Central Committee draft, which has been submitted for discussion by communists and all Soviet people, serves this fundamental directive of the party.

We have already been conducting discussions for more than a year about the need to restructure the political and economic training system. Now, under the conditions of the practical implementation of the strategic policy to accelerate the country's social and economic development, this task is acquiring special urgency and sharpness. The proposed Central Committee draft represents a good basis for qualitative changes in the organization of Marxist-Leninist training which has been called upon to arm communists and workers with the ability to think and act in a politically mature manner.

[Question] The section in the CPSU Central Committee draft, which is devoted to improving party leadership of political and economic training, points out the need to "substantially change the attitude toward political training as a purely party matter." What does this mean for the work practices of party committees at all levels?

[Answer] Unfortunately, an attitude toward Marxist-Leninist training as something secondary in our party life has taken shape over the years due to various reasons. Everyone was verbally in favor of political lessons and talked about the importance and need for raising their ideological and theoretical level, strengthening their practical trend, etc.; however, in action, they resigned themselves to the fact that training was separated from life and from the solution of practical tasks and does not infringe upon the interests of the people. We will not be able to change anything until we begin to regard political training as an organic component of party and political work, as a purely party matter. This means that the party organization must accurately determine the role of the Marxist-Leninist educational system each time and continuously rely on propagandists when solving any questions concerning the life and activity of a work collective. The introduction of cost accounting, the technical re-equipping of production, the introduction of state acceptance -- all of this requires the psychological restructuring of people and the formation of high conscientiousness and conviction in them.

The draft talks about the need to increase the responsibility of union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms in exercising concrete leadership over Marxist-Leninist education. I think that there is sense in paying special attention to increasing the role and responsibility of party gorkoms and raykoms. M. S. Gorbachev talked about this in particular in one of his speeches during his recent trip to Latvia and Estonia. The shortcomings, which he pointed out in the work of party gorkoms and raykoms, are also characteristic of our republic. You see, a great deal now depends on cadres at the rayon and city level and on their active position, including questions on restructuring Marxist-Leninist training. Considering this, it is advisable to single out especially the special responsibility of party gorkoms and raykoms for the restructuring of political and economic training and for the work with propagandists. They have been called upon to set the tone in this work because they stand closest of all to the primary party organizations and work collectives.

[Question] How would you comment on the conclusion, which is contained in the draft, that first secretaries bear personal responsibility for the theoretical training and ideological and moral hardening of personnel?

[Answer] I think that this requirement is a correct and timely one. Of course, the first secretary of a party committee is, as they say, responsible for everything. We are talking, however, about the fact that each one of us devote as much attention as possible to the Marxist-Leninist training of personnel today. Several months back, a decision of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro approved all leading workers in the republic -- from ministers to central committee secretaries -- as propagandists in primary party organizations. This is providing a good effect. It is possible to support fully the thesis that has been put forward in the CPSU Central Committee draft: "It must become the norm for secretaries, department chiefs, and other workers on party committees to personally appear at classes, participate in discussions and answer listeners' questions." In our view, one should not put a period here but continue the sentence: "... be interested in

the work and monitor how communists, especially leading personnel, are raising their ideological and theoretical level, mastering theory, and being guided by it in their practical work."

Such an addition is especially urgent in light of the requirements of the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum, which pointed out that we mainly pay attention to a worker's knowledge of the specifics of this or that branch of production, science, equipment, and technology and to his volitional principles, at times, when promoting personnel and evaluating them. However, we often lose sight of such leadership qualities as ideological and theoretical views, political maturity, moral principles, and ability to convince and lead people. We are trying to eliminate this gap during the open meetings and discussions that the members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro are now conducting throughout the republic with the members of party gorkom and raykom buros.

I will cite the following example: The report of S. Yasyunas, the republic's minister of the construction materials industry, about his work as a propagandist was recently discussed in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro. Of course, the discussion also concerned the state of affairs in the branch and in its headquarters; however, it was not the administrative and management activity of the minister but his propaganda and indoctrinational work which primarily interested us in this case. This "turn" in the discussion was extremely productive and long-range. The main thing was that we managed to evaluate the work of the director, generally speaking, more thoroughly and comprehensively along with thinking about improving his work style.

[Question] Since the 27th CPSU Congress, communists have been speaking more and more frequently about the need to democratize Marxist-Leninist studies. This problem has been reflected in the Central Committee draft also. As is known, the right to select the form of training, based on the distinctive features of the collectives and the nature of the production and social activity of the students, has been granted to party organizations during the current school year. However, far from all of them are using this right. What is the trouble here?

[Answer] The trouble is that for years, if not for decades, the organizers of political and economic training have become accustomed to receiving instructions "from above" on all, even -- let us say right out -- minor matters. Initiative and independence were not encouraged very much. Even at the beginning of the school year, each house of political enlightenment had to fear how it would "look" against the general background, when preparing the appropriate statistical data on the number of schools, seminars and students. It is good that the CPSU Central Committee draft provides for new steps to further expand democratic principles for organizing training. Perhaps, however, it is necessary to act even more resolutely on this avenue.

It is written in the draft that is being discussed by us: "The mandatory nature of training is combined with voluntariness in selecting the forms and recommended courses." The question arises: why only "recommended"? It would be better to omit this word from the text. Party organizations should have

the right to select courses for study and not from among those recommended in a centralized manner. The more we entrust in this matter to houses of political enlightenment and party organizations, the better it will be. At least, our republic's House of Political Enlightenment has at its disposal such an aktiv of scholars, social scientists and instructional methodologists that it can independently prepare a training course, program, plans, and lists of literature when necessary. I think that many other houses of political enlightenment in the country also have the appropriate capabilities at their disposal now. It does not pay to bind their initiative and to limit their functions. One of the long-range avenues for democratizing Marxist-Leninist studies lies in this.

Very much depends here on specific conditions and circumstances and on the specific nature of the tasks and problems arising. In April, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee adopted a resolution entitled "On Measures To Improve National Attitudes in the Republic and Raise the Effectiveness of International and Patriotic Indoctrination." A great deal of strenuous work faces us on this avenue. It has been decided to pay special attention to questions concerning the formation of high standards in intercourse between nationalities and to strengthen the sharpness of the reaction to any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, Zionism, antisemitism, provincialism, national narrow-mindedness, and self-conceit. Communists must be ready for counterpropaganda work and a decisive rebuff to the slander and provocative fabrications, which are being disseminated by reactionary Lithuanian immigration centers and the nationally attuned portion of the clergy. Here, we have a right to count on serious help from the party training system.

[Question] The CPSU Central Committee draft provides for studying the course "Urgent Problems in Developing National Attitudes and International and Patriotic Indoctrination." Evidently, this is needed right now?

[Answer] I agree with you. Of course, the republic's House of Political Enlightenment will have to work thoroughly here so that the topics for the classes will correspond to our needs to the greatest possible degree. However, we cannot limit ourselves to this. You see, it is one thing to study the problems of national attitudes in a seminar conducted in a production collective; and another -- to do it among the creative intelligentsia, etc. Each party organization must more boldly introduce the required adjustments into the subject matter of the questions being studied so that the training will be genuinely interesting and closely connected with the people's practical activity.

The Central Committee draft emphasizes very correctly that political training must be flexible, mobile, and capable of responding most fully and effectively to the tasks, which are being put forward by the party, and urgent practical needs.

[Question] How does one in this case guarantee the optimum combining of centralized principles with the expansion of the rights and independence of party organizations? This question is often being raised now in seminars of Marxist-Leninist training organizers and propagandists.

[Answer] One thing is clear: Unnecessary centralization, regulation and organization have already inflicted enormous harm on the system of political and economic education. It is necessary to be resolute in getting rid of them. In this connection, it is hardly worthwhile to determine the organizational structure of party studies, its forms, functions and purpose of each one of them so strictly and simply. Let party committees and organizations display more creativity and independence here. In our opinion, it is necessary to include this clause in the final text: "Expand the rights and responsibilities of the party organizations of enterprises, kolkhozes and various institutions and of party raykoms and gorkoms for the formation of a training system. They are required to solve, once and for all, the question of the structure, forms and methods of political and economic training in work collectives, rayons and cities and the selection of topics for study, the composition of students, and the times, periodicity and duration of classes."

[Question] What can you say about the decision to combine mass economic training with professional training and to include it in the state system for raising the qualifications and retraining of personnel?

[Answer] I think that this decision ripened long ago. You see, it is a fact that many directors of ministries, departments, enterprises and institutions have tried to keep aloof from organizing the economic education of the workers. We will now succeed in changing this situation. However, it is not worthwhile to erect too high a wall between political and economic training. It is sufficient to look at the titles of the courses being recommended in the draft for political and for economic studies. Several of them coincide quite a bit. There is not only nothing strange in this, but they also have their own pluses.

There is sense in including the following clause in the document: "In the system of party education, communists must have an opportunity to raise their own economic literacy constantly, and economic training must not lose its required political direction."

There is one other addition I would like to make. Many party committees and houses and offices of political enlightenment have accumulated quite a bit of positive experience in methodologically supporting economic studies. Why should these accomplishments be rejected? The draft correctly says: "All of the work to plan and organize production and economic studies and to improve their quality and results is being placed on the ministries, departments, economic directors, AUCCTU, and trade union organizations and is being carried out under the direction of party committees." I further suggest writing: "Houses and offices of political enlightenment have been called upon to provide the necessary methodological help to organizers of economic studies."

[Question] In conclusion, Pyatras Pyatrovich, a question that is connected with the fact that you have been over the course of many years -- it is possible to say -- one of our magazine's permanent writers. The CPSU Central Committee draft points out the need for a substantial restructuring of the POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE magazine's work. What would you recommend to the editors in this respect?

[Answer] The organizers of party studies and the republic's propagandists point out that the journal has changed for the better since the 27th CPSU Congress. Lively and pointed material on the problems connected with restructuring Marxist-Leninist training and "round table" meetings with prominent scholars, party workers and propagandists have attracted the readers' attention. Training and instructional methods articles and recommendations for the party educational system are being regularly published ahead of schedule. During a recently held republic seminar, the chiefs of political enlightenment offices talked about the fact that the magazine's instructional methods recommendations for the course "Accelerating the Country's Social and Economic Development Is the Strategic Line of the CPSU" are greatly responsive to the most modern requirements.

What would I like to wish to the editors? In avoiding pseudoscience in theoretical articles, it is necessary to constantly publish analytic and problematic material that has been called upon to expand the general political and cultural views of propagandists and the magazine's readers. You see, political studies should be expanded in close connection with the entire spiritual life of the people and exert considerable influence on public awareness in general. I think that it is necessary in the Central Committee documents to orient the magazine with all certainty toward the providing of theoretical and instructional methods help to the party and political educational system; and the weekly EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA -- toward helping economic studies. This "division of labor" has completely justified itself and there is no sense in rejecting it.

POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE readers in our republic have greeted with interest the proposal to increase the number of editions from 12 to 18 a year. It seems to us that this can attach a more operational character to its articles although a great deal, of course, does not depend only on the number of issues. The editors must orient party committees in a timely matter on the topical direction of the studies. In all cases, however, it is desirable to preserve the previous size of each edition, otherwise the journal's "face" can be changed -- a face to which millions of subscribers and readers have become accustomed over many years.

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET MEETS ON ELECTIONS, MILITARY OBLIGATIONS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Apr 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet at a meeting on 16 April examined the work of republic ministries and departments in preparation for elections to local soviets of people's deputies and rayon (municipal) people's courts of the Uzbek SSR.

It was noted that vigorous pre-election activities are going on in the republic, closely bound up with particular tasks for implementing the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in January, and that measures for conducting the election campaign are being worked out and implemented.

Emphasizing the exceptional significance of the upcoming elections, the Presidium subjected to criticism the activities of a number of ministries and departments for their poor performance in preparing for this important political work. The attention of the ispolkoms of local soviets was directed to impermissible manifestations of formalism and group thinking in the conduct of meetings for the nomination of candidates as deputies, contradictory to party policy for developing and extending socialist democracy. The presidium further noted the necessity of directing all propaganda activity as well as organizational and technical activities to securing the active participation of the broad masses of workers in the conduct of all pre-election efforts and in the resolution of state and social tasks in anticipation of a worthy reception for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The Presidium examined the republic's compliance with the "Law of the USSR on"Universal Military Duty" and efforts to improve the military and patriotic education of youth.

It was pointed out that republic ministries and departments, together with the local soviets and other economic and social organizations, are undertaking specific work to monitor compliance with the requirements of the law. There are still serious shortcomings, however, in this important state task. Improvement is required in the people's civil defense efforts and in

basic military and physical training of youth, and in the study of the Russian language in national schools as well as in international education. Military games and related sports activities are being poorly developed, and the material and technical resources for them are only slowly improving. Instances of violating established rules for military registration by citizens and by officials have not been eliminated entirely.

The Presidium has required of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, local soviet ispolkoms, and the ministries and departments the strictest observance of the Law of the USSR "On Universal Military Duty" and improvement in every way possible of the military and patriotic education of youth. A number of republic ministries and departments have been instructed to devise and implement additional measures for improving their performance in this regard.

After considering a memorandum by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet's Commission for Power Engineering regarding the fulfillment of the state plan targets for developing rural electrification and conserving electric power in agricultural production, the Presidium instructed the Ministry of Power, the State Agro-industrial Committee, and other ministries and departments in the republic, together with ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, to take additional measures to accelerate development of the rural electrical network, to improve the reliability and quality of the power supply, to introduce power-conservation technology, to strengthen efforts to save power, and also to broaden the training and improve the caliber of power engineers.

The Presidium heard a report by K. P. Rakhimov, minister of communications, on the efforts of his ministry to increase the quality of public communication services. It was pointed out that many deficiencies have yet to be eliminated. The restructuring of the work in this sector bears a formal imprint and is not yielding the results required. Plans have been disrupted for introducing automatic telephone exchanges, establishing radio-relay points and telephone service in urban areas. Mail delivery is organized unsatisfactorily, mail losses and thefts have increased, and the work schedule of communication enterprises is unreliable.

It was proposed that the Ministry of Communications of the Uzbek SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, and the ispolkoms of the oblasts and the City of Tashkent increase their attention to the work of the communications organs, bearing in mind that improving the quality of their services is recognized as one of the most important tenets of social policy, and one that is intimately tied to the interests of every family and of every citizen.

The Presidium took into consideration information from the Commission for Trade and Consumer Services of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet regarding the results of reviewing the work of the production associations and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the USSR Ministry

of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy which are located in republic territory regarding the rendering of paid services to the public. Instructions with respect to this information were issued to Gosplan and the ispolkoms of local soviets in the republic.

Other matters pertaining to governmental activities in the republic were addressed by the Presidium in accordance with which relevant decrees were adopted.

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

ELEMENTS OF OLD STYLE NOTED AT SESSION OF UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Dimov: "How Experience Is Gained: Notes Following A Session of the Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Tashkent--The session lasted almost two days, but for the deputies it would continue; for it was necessary to comprehend it. I wonder how it went. Undoubtedly, in terms of procedure, better than those that preceded it. But in terms of being in touch with the times, was it up to its previous standards? I cannot escape the feeling that the Supreme Soviet, while endorsing the new terminology, harbors the inhibitions inherent in old ways of thinking...

Deputy V. Dzhanibekov was not on the list of those scheduled to speak, but after the regular speaker the cosmonaut raised his hand and asked for the floor.

"A month ago," he said, "the government's commission for making an inventory of republic lands held its regular meeting. Suddenly it was revealed that the state center Priroda, on the basis of aerial and space photography, identified by name a certain area of arable land, whereas the State Agro-Industrial Committee gave the same name to another, smaller area. Who is correct? As every housekeeper knows how many buckets of water a day are used, so every official knows how much water the republic needs. But who is in charge of place names?"

After the cosmonaut spoke, the presiding chairman let A. Khabibullayev, chairman of the ispolkom of Dzhizak Oblast, have the floor. Since what had just been said about land and water pertained particularly to the virgin land of Dzhizak, it might be supposed that the deputy would continue the conversation begun by Dzhanibekov. Instead these words rang from the rostrum:

"Comrade deputies! In implementation of (there followed the names of decrees), oblast soviets are concentrating their efforts on (then an enumeration of efforts) and undertaking the tasks of (and entire paragraphs on efficiency, on output, on consumer services)..."

Later the cosmonaut acknowledged that he simply wanted to "stir up" the deputies and bring them back from the cloud-covered heights of abstract phraseology to earth--where so much remains to be done. All the more so for the fact that a detailed study was made not long ago of how to exploit the immense potential of agro-industrial development in its entirety throughout Central Asia, including Uzbekistan, which has been made possible by the whole country. The study's conclusion was that the outcome was unsatisfactory, resulting in a big production shortage. In the hall were irrigation experts, agronomists, scientists. Each one of them had an accumulation of thoughts and reflections, especially regarding the imbalance in accounts of the irrigated lands. Could this be why such a vital, critical problem for the republic was discussed "in general and as a whole"?

On the day before the session republic leaders were in Moscow. They returned on the eve of its opening. The days during their stay in the capital had been crowded. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had been in session. And the CPSU Central Committee had been deliberating how to improve production of consumer goods and extend consumer services, in which respect the republic did not appear in its best light.

"We went on working on our reports and speeches the whole trip home in the airplane," I managed to overhear just before the start of the meeting. "Making corrections--refining problems. Now the main thing is that those in attendance pitch in and lend their support. There is reason for hope and apprehension."

They lent their support, first to one thing and then another.

The restructuring goes on, and the conduct of the session gave an indication of how complex and ambiguous this process is. On the first day there was an inquiry from a deputy addressed to Minister of Communications K. Rakhimov, not surprisingly on matters of communication. He responded on the following day. But M. Khabibullayev, an installer, rose from his seat and said, "I am not satisfied with the reply." The inquiry addressed to the minister was about industrial construction in the Karshi Steppe. The team leader and steeplejack was viewing the work of the ministry from his own voting district in Tashkent (the districts of the team leader and of the minister, by the way, were adjacent to one another). The deputy's concluding remark was sharp and to the point. Turning to the minister, he said: "Never has an appeal by a deputy been treated with so little concern as by you."

The exchange was frank and unfettered, and it offered cogent evidence of the fact that the distinctive feature of the new approach of the deputy to his duties must be judgment from the standpoint of real life.

An hour before the session opened the Soviet's party members gathered. They listened to reports on the activities of the voting districts by two communist deputies, A Vlasov, a machinist of the diesel locomotive depot

Bukhara-1, and O. Abbasova, republic minister of education. The conversation became animated and they forgot about the time.

The voting district of Aleksandr Borisovich is the railroad junction Kagan. He himself lives there. The district of Oydin Salikhovna is Pskent, comprising seven kolkhozes and one sovkhoz and located 40 kilometers from Tashkent. Kagan had suffered an earthquake, and not long ago Pskent had experienced a flood. The deputies had much in common. But they were discussing together the benefits they receive from personal contact with the voters. The minister, for example, had on hand all the statistics of public education in the republic. Her district in all consisted of half a rayon. But meeting with the voters was helping her to discern behind the figures the kind of problems that cannot be detected in an office. It is there that they are to be found, the real schools, the real children and their parents--not some mean statistics of pedagogy...

But let us return to the session. Deputy V. Sigedin, director of the Almalyk Mining and Smelting Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, said: "All the resources for housing at the enterprises in our city have been allotted to one client, the ispolkom. But its capital construction facilities, as we can see, are not ready for operations on such a scale. What should we do? Wait until the ispolkom is given a staff? No--we replenished these structural subdivisions within the gorispolkom through the staffs and the wage funds of our enterprises." There should be more of such practical applications of experience. Alas, more often were heard self-congratulatory comments, glossed-over accounts and from the rostrum, as before, arguments looking like delaying tactics.

The same sort of thing showed up in discussing the report of the Committee of People's Control, which was delivered by its chairman, V. Khaydurov. It began with a seemingly innocent fact. I. Kuzhim, senior inspector of the line OVD [Internal Affairs Section], had pointed out irregularities at the Tashkent Airport--there had been a row over it. The chairman of the KNK [Committee of People's Control], Deputy Kh. Kamalov, announced: "Kuzhim was restored to his former duties." He had been restored all right, but, as it turned out, not to his former duties.

And the secretary of the Uzbek Central Committee Komsomol, Ye. Grevtsov, referred at the session to the work of youth with KNK organs as a "school of economic analysis, of maturity, of the skill to recognize reserves." As if the deputy was not aware of the fact that not everything by any means was going smoothly at the so-called school of the KNK. In the last two years alone 17 senior officials of the people's control agencies had been relieved of their duties, and some of them had served as tools of revenge and persecution for criticism. Even the control services have not managed to avoid the corrosion of inactivity, of indifference and apathy, which has long been rife in the republic. Under these conditions it is not easy to organize the work of the KNK in keeping with the demands of the day.

No, it was no accident that the debate was held, as if for the second time, out in the lobby. And here, at times, more sharply and to the point than in the hall.

Why? Possibly, not all the deputies were sufficiently informed of the fine points of the matters under discussion. Evidently, the overall strategy of the regular sessions is not always worked out in terms of particular tasks even at the preliminary meetings of the permanent commissions. But the main thing undoubtedly is the fact that it is extremely difficult to shake off habits ingrained by the years of smooth, non-committal speeches. And the conclusion drawn by the party group of the Supreme Soviet is convincing: It is necessary for the Soviet to master the art of work,

That is the crux of the matter. An unusual incident occurred in which the imponderable impediments hindering the learning process became apparent. K. Sindarov, chairman of the Syr-Darya kolkhoz Leningrad, was third on the list of speakers. He had only recently been selected as a replacement for the previous deputy, and he had decided to listen at the start to the "knowledgeable people," and to give his address at the end. After he had requested this delay of the presiding chairman, the floor was given to Deputy Yu. Buzrukov, who was also a kolkhoz chairman, but his kolkhoz was situated at the end of the republic, near Fergan. But the texts of the translator remained in the earlier order. So it happened that while one speech was being delivered, a different speech was being simultaneously translated.

To speak from a written text is not a bad thing, presuming the thoughts are one's own. Not everybody, especially in the field of production, is an orator. At the rostrum it is necessary to think, too, about saving time. But whoever said that speeches had to be distributed necessarily in typewritten form to a reviewer ahead of time? It is, they say, to be explained by the fact it is necessary to accomplish the translations--from Uzbek to Russian and vice versa. But in actual fact this system tends to smooth out the texts, thereby making the underlings of the republic Supreme Soviet involuntary editors and even censors of the deputies' speeches! Obviously, the time has come to reequip the technical facilities of these meetings of the Soviet, so that immediate and simultaneous interpretation is available, helping the parliamentarians to explain their positions more fully and making it clear once and for all that the deputy is an independent personage.

Experience teaches. It is necessary only to find its rational basis without which forward movement is impossible, and to find it without brushing aside failures or being afraid of them. And the fact that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan judges the progress of the last session from this standpoint is its primary result. That is the starting point from which is to proceed the restructuring of the work performed by the highest organ of state power in the republic.

12889  
CSO: 1830/577

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

AFGHAN VETS, WAR DEAD HONORED IN GEORGIA'S RUSTAVI

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 8 April 1987 carries on page 4 under the recurring rubric "Faithful to Internationalist Duty" D. Bitsadze's 600-word article "Patriots Honored," which reports various measures and events in Rustavi designed to honor returning Afghan veterans and "immortalize" the names of Rustavians who have perished "in defense of the April Revolution." A number of the names of the dead who were honored at a special meeting with a standing moment of silence reflect the multi-ethnic make-up of Rustavi servicemen (all the officers' names are Russian or Ukrainian). Many were awarded posthumous medals, including the Red Star.

A memorial ensemble and "Youth Avenue" are now being built in honor of Rustavi's war dead, and will serve as a "shrine" for the city's young people. A "Patriotic Dedication" display will be set up in the local regional museum.

For those who came home alive, the city's Komsomol and Military Commissariat have been providing job placement in Rustavi's various industries and making sure that living and working conditions are good. Several "Internationalist Friendship Clubs" have been created in plants and schools. Afghan veterans take part in school functions and also help see off new recruits departing Rustavi.

LACK OF 'MODESTY' BRINGS GEORGIAN PARTY OFFICIAL'S DOWNFALL

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 9 April 1987 carries on page 3 under the newly instituted rubric "The Ethical Component of Restructuring" G. Giorgadze's 800-word article, titled "As a Lesson...," recounting the decade-long careerism, mounting arrogance, and final downfall of I. Abesadze, who was dismissed from his post as an official [otvetstvennyy rabotnik] in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. The last straw, the author indicates, was Abesadze's written complaint (here quoted) to the housing Commission that his 6-member family's assignment to a new ground-floor 4-room apartment was "demeaning and insulting" to him as a candidate of science and a docent. Author Giorgadze cites a number of esteemed public figures of the present and past who rejoiced at receiving the kind of accommodations Abesadze pouts about. After all, "housing is a problem all over... A room for every family member?! Maybe someday...."

Lack of modesty is a "disease" afflicting all too many officials in recent years, in stark contrast to Lenin's personal style, who always asked himself "What will the workers say?" For arrogant officials, the office is not so much a workplace as a "prestigious perk," the state car a means of chauffeuring family members around, the assigned dacha a place of revels.

In the latter connection, "the public should be aware that recently the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee ordered that a number of high officials were to lose their dachas in Tskhneta, which were converted to vacation hotels or turned over to children's homes."

Finally, the author notes that although Abesadze's dismissal over this matter has few precedents, "soon such cases will become common."

In the same edition, KOMUNISTI devotes a 1,000-word front-page editorial to the general topic of the virtue of modesty among true leaders, who make themselves accessible to the workers, work diligently and competently, and eschew self-advertisement, ostentation, trappings, and jubilees. The editorial announces the institution of KOMUNISTI's new rubric as noted in the above article and invites readers' input.

6854  
CSO: 1813/407

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

KIRGHIZ RAYKOM FIRST SECRETARY FIRED FOR INCOMPETENCE

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian on 4 June 1987 carries on page 1 a 700-word report entitled "To Improve Efficiency and Adherence to Principle in One's Work" describes the Kirghiz Central Committee's Buro's investigation of the criticisms of Moskovskiy Raykom's First Secretary A. Kenesariyeva at its 16 May Plenum. The investigation confirmed the criticisms of the party raykom. The First Secretary is accused of "serious deficiencies in the style and methods of leadership and in relation to cadre questions, crudeness in dealing with other officials, and the uncritical approach to his own work."

In a 50-word report directly under the article it is announced that the Moskovskiy Rayon First Secretary A. Kenesariyeva was relieved of his duties. His replacement was A.M. Bazavlyuk, who earlier worked as an Assistant Head of the Kirghiz Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department.

/8309

CSO: 1830/600

SUPREME COURT MEMBER ON LITIGATION AGAINST JOURNALISTS

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 34-36

[Interview with Petr Yakovlevich Trubnikov, member of the USSR Supreme Court and doctor of legal sciences, by Mikhail Fedotov, member of the USSR Journalists' Union and candidate of legal sciences: "A Matter of Honor"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Sometimes you hear: "It's easy to criticize..." But in fact it is exactly the opposite. And among other reasons, because every accusation which is made on the newspaper page or on the radio must be scrupulously weighed on the scales of objectivity, precision, and evidence. The smallest distortion, a seemingly insignificant departure from the facts, an abusive word thrown in passing in the heat of overwhelming emotions--and right away there is a court summons on the editors' desk, and the editorial board becomes the defendant in a case of retracting unauthenticated information which denigrates the honor and dignity of a citizen. The journalist's mistake becomes a trump card in the hands of the individuals criticized. The details which do not correspond to reality cast a cloud over all the material, forcing one to doubt its objectivity. And there are cases in which such doubts turn out to be justified, when an innocent person falls under the critic's fire, when, as the jurists say, there is a mistaken object.

For the honor of our journalists let us mention that there are very few such cases in legal practice. Among all civil suits they comprise only a fraction of a percent. But nevertheless there are some. And that means that there are grounds for discussing the problems which arise in resolving them.

[M. Fedotov] Recently V. Kononenko, editor of a department of the magazine CHELOVEK I ZAKON, wrote to ZHURNALIST. This was her position: "Every day it gets harder and harder for people writing critical material to work. The people whom we offend in our publications use any methods in order to force us to be silent. In recent times, journalists have been more and more frequently brought to legal responsibility by Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code (Protection of Honor and Dignity). A real war has been declared against us, the goal of which is to teach a lesson, to exhaust, and always to discourage the inclination to offend of someone in the press."

In my opinion, the author of the letter, to put it lightly, is not quite correct. It has indeed become more difficult to criticize, but above all that is because the demands on criticism have increased, the field of its application has expanded. And perhaps also because some journalists are not used to criticizing and have not mastered this complex job which requires meticulous legal precision, high principles, and civic boldness. In our life there are special professions. Journalism is one of them. But it also has its own security techniques of which failure to master them can lead to many follies. I cannot agree with the proposition that legal proceedings on Article 7 of the RSFSR Civil Code have become substantially more numerous: research for 1980-1986 does not support this.

[P. Trubnikov] Indeed, the number of such cases in courts of the country in recent years has kept to approximately the same level. The necessity of resolving in a court proceeding conflicts connected with the application of Article 7 arises extremely rarely. As for the letter you quoted, such arguments are not new. As early as the beginning of the 1960's, when Article 7 of the Principles of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, and the corresponding articles of civil codes were first published, irritated voices were already sounding. They declared that this legal norm would reward tattletales, that lovers of litigation would now be "calling out" satirists to duels, and that "days of judgment" would fall on editorial offices.

Now a quarter of a century has passed, but the rules established have not undermined the prestige of the mass information media whatsoever. On the contrary, they have increased trust in published information, inasmuch as they have made the materials available to open verification in court. They have not untied the hands of slanderers, but, on the contrary, tied them up, as far as possible. In the decree of the USSR Supreme Court Plenum of 17 December 1971 concerning the application of Article 7 of the Principles of Civil Legislation in Legal Practice, it was emphasized that this norm is an important means of defending the honor and dignity of Soviet citizens and organizations, that it has great educational significance, preventing instances of humiliation of citizens, and that it promotes strengthened communist principles in social life.

[M. Fedotov] The small number of such court cases, clearly, is a result of the cautionary effect of Article 7. Remembering the possibility of legal contention of widespread defamatory reports, journalists, as a rule, carefully check and recheck the facts in preparing critical publications. There is also another explanation. Many editorial boards which have gotten into a difficult situation through the fault of their authors try to settle the course out of court. Having made certain of their mistake, they immediately place a retraction with apologies which are appropriate in such cases.

Others, in contrast, are as afraid of retractions as the devil is of incense, and, even when it is perfectly obvious that they have gotten into a mess, plunge into every vice in an attempt to prove their infallibility. For them a retraction is a catastrophe, an indelible stain on the reputation of the editorial board, rather than a routine, ordinary method of restoring the good name of an undeservedly discredited individual.

[P. Trubnikov] I recall the words of V. I. Lenin. "It is natural for everyone to make mistakes," he wrote, "and there is nothing especially bad in this. But, by insisting on a mistake, an editorial office 'allows the splinter to remain' if not forever then for a long time, and ruins its good name and position.... A corrected mistake disappears. An uncorrected one becomes a purulent sore" ("Completed Collected Works," Vol 48, p 189). And the fact that some editorial offices publish retractions without waiting for a court decision deserves all possible support. In the first place, the time of the witnesses and of the parties in conflict themselves is saved. Second, the time from publication to retraction is reduced. Third, the necessity of paying court costs is eliminated. But no effective legislation for resolution of such controversies outside the courts has been provided. Here everything depends on the good will of the parties involved.

[M. Fedotov] In certain fraternal countries, such a procedure has already been written into law. For example, in Romanian and Polish law concerning the press, it is established that a defamed individual has the right to go to an editorial office in the course of one month following publication, to demand a retraction of incorrect reports. And only in the case of a refusal by the editorial office may he bring a court action, within a month. Pay attention to this: the time periods for resolving the conflict are very short. This frees journalists from the necessity of preserving supporting documents for years and decades "just in case."

[P. Trubnikov] I got your hint. Yes, our civil legislation has not established a time period limiting the ability to bring suits in cases of defending honor and dignity. The defamed individual himself or another interested party may bring a suit at any time, demanding a retraction. In practice, there have been cases when decades have passed between the publication of incorrect reports and the dispute concerning their retraction. But this need not be seen as a loophole for unscrupulous people who have covered themselves in the expectation that the source of the information will be expunged from the author's memory, and that the documents will be irretrievably lost. After all, it is absolutely possible that there may be situations when an individual has for a long time not realized that he was publicly defamed, or was not able to stand up for his rights, for example, because of illness.

Pay attention also to the fact that the laws you cited were established in the laws on the press, and not in civil codes of law. A draft of a law on the press and information is now being drawn up in our country. I think that it will include norms for regulating disputes regarding the retraction of incorrect reports outside the court system. It would be worthwhile to establish fairly short time periods for the out-of-court procedure. And if it is not possible to settle the conflict by peaceful means, a citizen can turn to the court, and there he will no longer be bound by time limitations on the suit.

[M. Fedotov] Let's discuss this question. The law lays on the defendants--that is, in this case, the author and the editorial office--the responsibility of proving in court that the reports disseminated correspond to reality. But, first of all, must everything be proved? Let me remind you of the words of K.

Marx from the article with the symbolic title "Acquittal of the Mosel Correspondent." If it is necessary to prove that the correspondent is telling the truth, he wrote, then "one could scarcely think that it is necessary to prove literally every word, otherwise every summary would have to be considered incorrect and it would be generally impossible to pass on the sense of any speech without repeating it word for word" (Vol 1, p 187).

And, second, how do the defendants prove their innocence, with what? What does the court take into consideration, and what not? Here is yet another fragment from V. Kononenko's letter: "It is no secret that we frequently are not given the documents and materials necessary to write an article. Those who do not give them to us are precisely those who later bring a suit to court, and their demand that we show what was the basis for writing one phrase or another, and they cite various facts. Many citizens reject oral reports, saying: "We didn't see it with our own eyes." Many courts do not take into account a record in a journalist's notebook or on tape. How then, in that case, is a worker of the press supposed to prove his innocence, defend his honor and dignity?"

[P. Trubnikov] I will begin with the first question. Two aspects of correspondence to reality must be understood. First, there is how well a report concerning an action, event, or activity corresponds to what occurred in reality--that is, the correctness of the report on the facts. Second, there is how adequate the moral evaluation of the facts is. This concept has been developed by legal science and is supported by court practice. In other words, Article 7 cannot be understood in the sense that citizens are given the right to question in court any of an author's ways of depicting, comparisons, individual characterizations, author's digressions, and so forth in some material or other. It is perfectly obvious that without this not one article could get by, as a result of a certain creativity of the author, and his attitude toward the facts. But the facts must be precise, the evaluations correct.

As for the sharpness of the expressions used, there should be limits on it, which, if exceeded, brings criminal responsibility for libel. In addition, as the prominent Russian jurist A. F. Koni wisely observed, the truth loses nothing from an absence of swearing and abuse, while the dignity of the press only gains, for coarse expressions say more about the irritation of the individual who speaks them than the character of the individual who is abused.

Now about the evidence. According to the sense of the law, this is any factual data established by the following methods: explanations of the parties involved and third parties, the testimony of witnesses, written and material evidence, and expert opinions. Moreover, for the court, no evidence is established as valid in advance. An exception, and even that within definite limits, is made only for a previously established court verdict. Therefore, the most reliable source of information for journalists is a court verdict. This is all the more important because many disputes concerning defense of honor and dignity relate to publications written on materials of criminal cases.

Naturally, a journalist has the right to use other sources of information as well: work records, minutes of meetings, official information, and so forth. No one prohibits referring to the opinions of officials or individual citizens. For the court it is not most important where one piece of information or another comes from as the very fact of whether or not it corresponds to reality.

For example, if incorrect information has migrated onto the newspaper page from a work record, then the people who wrote the record and the organization in whose name it was issued become defendants in the case, along with the editorial office and the author. According to the court's decision, this work record is subject to alteration, and the information disseminated by the press is subject to retraction. Of course, in these cases, the editorial office and the author are innocent victims. But after all, nobody intends to punish them. We are only talking about retraction of the defamatory reports, as not corresponding to reality.

Now about the evidence which a journalist cannot obtain independently. For help he has the right to turn to the court which is examining the case. In addition, the court is obliged on its own initiative to demand the necessary evidence if the individuals participating in the case have not put it together.

[M. Fedotov] Let us be more precise. Even publishing critical material exclusively on the basis of valid guilty verdicts by the court, an editorial office is not ensured against the necessity of subsequently placing a retraction.

On 18 May 1981 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium published the decree "On the Compensation of Damage Caused to a Citizen by the Illegal Actions of State and Public Organizations, and Also of Official Persons, in Carrying Out Their Official Responsibilities." The regulations and instructions adopted based on it provide for the possibility of compensation of moral damages in the case of issuing an innocent verdict or discontinuance of a criminal case for absence of an act or state of crime, or lack of evidence in the citizens' participation in committing it. If information on the conviction or trial of this citizen for criminal responsibility has been published in the press, then, at his demand, the editorial office in question is obliged to make the necessary report of this within a month. In the case of refusal of the editorial office, the citizen has the right to use Article 7 and take the case to court.

I will return once more to the letter of V. Kononenko. The author wonders: How can a person demand a retraction through the court, if his last name is designated by only a single letter in the publication, for example, "Lathe Operator N."?

[P. Trubnikov] What is so surprising about that? After all, if the publication indicates, for example, the city, the name of the enterprise, and the specific circumstances of what happened, then the members of this labor collective can easily recognize who this mysterious "lathe operator N." is.

It is another matter when the material has no such amplifying details. Then there cannot be a court case.

[M. Fedotov] Doesn't it seem to you that under this interpretation we are forced to call for undirected criticism?

[P. Trubnikov] That's not the way the matter stands. Insofar as I can judge, the last name is put in code in cases where it does not have fundamental significance for the author, when it is important to indicate the problem (especially when it is in the area of personal life which, according to the USSR Constitution, is inviolable), rather than the specific individuals involved.

[M. Fedotov] Do you remember, Petr Yakovlevich, that episode from "Dvenadtsat stulyev" [The 12 Chairs] when Ostap is in the editorial office of the newspaper STANOK and demands a retraction? "Here, comrade editor, an absolute lie has been printed about me," said the great schemer and pointed to the report titled "Fell Under a Horse," to the phrase "The victim escaped with a slight scare." Bender justified his demand as follows: "As though I would be afraid of some cab horse! I have been slandered in front of the whole world--there must be a retraction." To this the editor replied: "Really, citizen, no one has slandered you, and we do not give retractions for such trifling issues." Let us analyze whether Ostap's demand was rightful, from the point of view of the current legislation, naturally.

[P. Trubnikov] According to the law, the court has the right to examine a demand for a retraction of published information if it is defamatory. In the decree to which I already referred, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium explained that reports are defamatory if they lessen the honor and dignity of the citizen or organization in the public opinion or the opinion of individual citizens from the point of view of observing the laws and rules of socialist life, and the principles of communist morality. In other words, if a publication groundlessly asserts about someone that he does not observe the norms of law and morality, this lessens his honor and dignity.

In particular, reports about failure to fulfill their civic labor and professional duty, a dishonorable act committed by them, participation in malicious litigation, and so forth, would be defamatory. But I would like to emphasize that reports which defame honor and dignity naturally cannot include justified criticism of shortcomings in work, behavior in a public place, or in life.

I think it will be clear now that the report about the "slight scare" of Ostap Bender would not be considered slanderous by a court today.

[M. Fedotov] I remember in one court case the plaintiff disputed phrases, one of which was that he had more than once been fired for absences and drunkenness, and the other that he had been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. He demanded that the defendants--the editorial office and the author--prove that he had more than once been fired for drunkenness and more than once for absences, and that he truly had been sentenced to 10 years. In court it came out that in the original version of the article the first

disputed phrase appeared in a different form: "He was more than once fired from work, was absent, and was drunk." In this form it fully corresponded to reality. But in editing it was "very slightly" changed, and the defendants did not have the proof which the plaintiff demanded.

[P. Trubnikov] Of course, the editorial office should retract this phrase as defamatory and not corresponding to reality. Another thing is that it might provide commentary with its retraction, and in it produce the original, accurate version of the text. And what did the question about the imprisonment consist of?

[M. Fedotov] The whole question was the length of time. In actual fact, the plaintiff was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment, and not 10, as the newspaper said. Could this incorrect information be considered defamatory?

[P. Trubnikov] I would suggest that here we can talk about correction, but not retraction. Demands concerning publication of corrections, however, are not subordinate to the court.

[M. Fedotov] In cases in which unreliable, although not defamatory, information gets into print are, unfortunately, not rare. Sometimes the name, job title, or honorary title are distorted, sometimes the photograph is of someone completely different than the person named in the text. Somehow, in the article of one well-known critic on the creative work of a popular movie actor, I read that the actor loved to spend his free time fishing, although in actual fact he was completely indifferent to fishing. Such inaccuracies offend people, although they cannot be considered defamatory of honor and dignity. It is impossible to get a correction published through the court, but editorial offices far from always come halfway to meet them. Clearly this is the idea of drafting a law on the press and information to regulate the procedure for publishing corrections.

But let us return to retractions. If the court, after studying the materials of the case, finds the defendants innocent, then it drops the suit without satisfaction, and the editorial office and the author can breathe a sigh of relief (if a higher court instance does not overturn the decision, naturally). This, incidentally, is how the overwhelming majority of cases turn out. But sometimes the court finds the disseminated information defamatory and not corresponding to reality. In this case it compels the editorial office (or, as I read in one decision, suggests) to publish a retraction.

[P. Trubnikov] Yes, but in a positive resolution of the question of satisfaction of a suit, the court does not have the right to limit itself to merely indicating the necessity for a retraction. It must also indicate the method and a deadline for retracting the defamatory information. If it has been disseminated in the press, then it must be retracted in the press. As for television and radio, in each specific case the court establishes the method of retraction based on the circumstances of the case. At the same time, the court has the right to put responsibility on the defendants for reimbursing the court costs of the plaintiff. And conversely, if it finds the plaintiff's demands groundless, the court may place responsibility on him for reimbursing these costs for the defendant.

[M. Fedotov] The laws concerning the press which operate in certain fraternal countries establish that retractions must be placed in the same sections and set up in the same type face as the materials to which they refer, and that a fairly large headline must be provided. In my opinion, we might introduce this rule as well. It is often the case that editorial offices hide the text of a retraction, for example, in the surveys of letters. Our journalists, I am sure, have no need to imitate the bourgeois press, throwing the "canards" onto page 1, and retracting their own fairy tales on the last page, and moreover in the very smallest typeface. Can a court order an editorial office to use a particular form to retract disseminated defamatory reports?

[P. Trubnikov] It seems that the court should scarcely interfere in purely editorial questions concerning the type face, the position on the page, and so forth. For it something else is important: If the decision is taken to compel publication of the retraction, it must be carried out. For nonfulfillment of the decision, a fine is exacted, paid into state revenues, from people who are guilty of the violation. But this does not free them from the responsibility to place a retraction. The amount of the fine is established by legislation of the union republics. In the RSFSR, for example, it is exacted in an amount up to 200 rubles. For repeated violations in fulfilling the decision, the fine can be exacted with a cumulative sum in the limits of up to 1,000 rubles.

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12255

CSO: 1800/418

## HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

### POPULAR HISTORY OF GEORGIA PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 5 April 1987 carries on page 3 under the title "A Precious Gift" popular writer Mukhran Machavariani's 700-word review of a new two-volume popular history of Georgia by Professor Levan Sanikidze, himself a prolific writer and head of Tbilisi State University's Department of Ancient History. Titled "Deda Istoria" [Mother History, a title deliberately resonating to Georgians' love for their first-grade primer Deda Ena = Mother Tongue], the work is written "in highly readable artistic language" accessible to all rather than in the conventional style of works written for specialists, and is intended for all readers but especially for young people, inasmuch as Georgian history instruction in the schools and VUZes "is limited." The author has drawn on numerous sources ancient and modern to trace Georgian history from its earliest roots to the assassination of 19th-century statesman Ilia Chavchavadze. "Deda Istoria" was published by Tbilisi University Press and edited by G. Dzhumburia. It includes historical maps, a list of Georgian kings, and a Chronology.

The reviewer emphasizes several virtues of the work, in particular the fact that it contains "a number of new interpretations" of historical events, and urges that it be translated into other languages. He also endorses author Sanikidze's urgent proposal that all Georgians make an annual pilgrimage from Tbilisi to Tsitsamuri in commemoration of Ilia's own fateful journey there on 30 August (12 September new style), the day he was murdered, and urges that the annual event be instituted this year, which marks Ilia's 150th anniversary.

Machavariani's review is followed on the same page by a 1,500-word section from the final pages of Sanikidze's work, titled "Via Dolorosa" (by way of comparing Ilia's final journey to Tsitsamuri with Christ's march to Golgotha), which describes the trip in detail. A number of other passages and allusions also draw upon Judeo-Christian traditions. For example, Ilia is likened to Moses, who led his people out of adversity; he was Georgia's only true Master/Teacher and Helmsman among the squabbling pretenders to "the rod of Moses, the harp of David, and the ring of Solomon" in the late 19th century; virtually an "uncrowned king" to the Georgians, Ilia did, in his final hour of agony and death, gain "a crown of thorns"; and the author has his martyr ruminating, as he rode to Tsitsamuri, on the legend which relates that the mother of Elioz the Jew of Mtskheta [who played a key role

in Georgia's conversion to Christianity] cried out, on learning of Christ's crucifixion, "You have murdered him, you have murdered the Lord God!"

Other themes in this excerpt concern Georgians' centuries-old tortuous struggle for "national freedom and independence," indeed for national survival: "Will we be here as a nation tomorrow? The day after? Will we continue to exist at all?...That is the eternal question of every small nation." For Georgians have never been content to stand by and merely observe global events and movements but have given themselves wholeheartedly to them. It was especially so in the welter of conflicting "isms" of the late 19th century: capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, anarchism, tsarism, chauvinism, nationalism...and "all these isms demanded blood," which small nations cannot afford to shed.

Ilia had tried to reconcile the various segments of society--the nobility, the peasantry, the bourgeoisie--but the struggle ended with his death.

#### EXILED GEORGIAN WRITER, GORKIY LINKED IN MOURNING LENIN

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 15, 10 April 1987 carries on page 4 under the rubric "Memorial Day" Otar Egadze's 1,100-word literary exercise "Two Men's Lamentation," which consists almost entirely of short eulogistic remarks on the occasion of Lenin's death, by Maxim Gorkiy and Grigol Robakidze [a Georgian writer who died in exile]. When the news was broadcast around the world, Gorkiy himself was on the Isle of Capri, while Robakidze was on Mtatsminda [where the Georgian pantheon of writers and statesmen is located]. Author Egadze refers to both men as "great writers."

The quoted remarks express grief, praise Lenin's works, define his role in history as not only a great thinker but a man of action, a revolutionary, and compare him with Napoleon and Peter the Great.

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CSO: 1813/408

RELIGION

BELIEVERS WIN DISPUTE OVER CHURCH CONSTRUCTION

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 13, Mar 87 (signed to press 24 Mar 87) pp 30-31

[Article by OGONEK special correspondent Sergey Vlasov: "If We Reason With People in Mind..," followed by editorial staff note; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The question of freedom of conscience under socialism is important both as a manifestation of the Soviet state's extremely clear-cut treatment of religion and as a display of our strength. We have never waged a struggle against persons who follow one religion or another without setting themselves against the people's Soviet state and its laws. This is what the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers told us after reading this article: "The socialist state has never waged a struggle against believers and religious organizations as such. However, opposition and disputes have not been eliminated in practice. And here it is especially important that these disputes are resolved each time by taking Soviet laws, before which all our state's citizens are equal, into account."

"Please don't give my name in the article," the responsible official of the Krasnodar Krayispolkom said at the beginning of our conversation, and reminded me two more times of his request. And I thought the person probably did not want his name to be remembered later, when the dispute faded away, in the context of the decisions approved by the ispolkom. And these decisions, we must say, were rather strict, and they led to the outspoken dissatisfaction of groups of Soviet citizens. Collective letters were sent to various higher authorities with requests to be "protected from the arbitrariness of local officials."

A letter such as this also came to our editorial staff. It was signed by 300 persons. Here is how it begins:

"We, the parishioners of the Rozhdestvo-Bogoroditskaya Orthodox Church, are appealing to you concerning the protection of our legal rights, guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, by legislation on worship. They want to confiscate the building for worship being built on the site of the old church,

which is in broken-down condition, on the grounds that we began erecting it without written permission from the authorities (but after all, verbal instructions were given both by the chairman of the rayispolkom and his deputy in the presence of witnesses!).

"The old church building has not been repaired since 1950 and has fallen into complete disrepair, and besides, the prayer hall is very small, the ceilings are low, and deaths have occurred from the lack of oxygen..."

Then the account in the letter, almost a detective story, is given rather subjectively (as I now understand, after an out-of-town assignment in Krasnodar Kray and after many meetings with the representatives of both sides in the dispute). There is not a word in the letter about the faults of its authors, but there are faults, and important ones. However, it must be stated at once that the share of blame is considerable on the opposing side--the employees of the rayispolkom, many of whom have been punished already. "For lack of control over construction of the church and failure to take steps to put it in order," the deputy chairman and secretary of the ispolkom of Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon were given severe reprimands and the rayon's chief architect was dismissed.

Incidentally, in the stanitsa of Tbilisskaya in Krasnodar Kray, where a similar situation took shape, the rayispolkom chairman was removed from his post. Ispolkom employees in Temryuk and in Krymsk, where incompletely churches also were confiscated, did not avoid serious penalties, either. As we see, the case in the stanitsa in Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon is quite typical and of topical interest, and it is necessary to tell about it for this reason.

Thus, in 1947 the parishioners purchased a private house with money collected from donations and equipped it as a church. There was room for up to 100 persons in it, but three times as many came here on the holidays. It was both crowded and stifling, especially in the summer. Elderly persons would faint from the oppressive heat, and in 1984 pensioner I. S. Petruk died right in the church during a service. This misfortune also gave cause for the believers to begin petitioning for reconstruction of the house, which had deteriorated, it must be noted, into squalid condition: the walls had cracked and come apart here and there, the ceilings were sagging, and the additions had settled and gave the church the appearance of a barn.

After long efforts by the believers, the Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayispolkom created a commission to study the situation at the house of worship. Here are lines from the official statement of 21 November 1984: "In connection with the long period the house has been in use (it was built in 1910) and its replanning, the load-bearing capacity of its walls, foundations and ceilings has been reduced... The building is beyond repair. Complete reconstruction is necessary for the normal conduct of services."

Let us stress one word here--reconstruction. Discussion focused precisely on this when the church council went to the rayispolkom offices. V. A. Kucher, the deputy chairman, gave verbal authorization precisely for reconstruction. But what the believers began in the spring of 1985 can only be called reconstruction when there is a very strong desire to do so. Essentially this

was the construction of a new house, though one wall was in line with the previous wall. But authorization for such construction was needed from the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, which the believers did not have.

Later I ask church warden Ye. I. Borzov and other members of the church council why they did not petition for construction of the church right away, but began it on the sly under the guise of reconstruction. Was such a stratagem necessary? To which they responded with certainty: "No one would have authorized the construction anyway." But do our laws really prohibit the construction of churches?

In order not to repeat the many errors permitted in this story, let us leaf through the code of laws. From the government decrees of 1929 and 1946 and the appropriate supplements and amendments to them made in 1967 and 1975, we conclude: "The construction of new buildings of worship by religious organizations is permitted IN INDIVIDUAL CASES through the efforts and resources of the believers when established...regulations are observed."

The phrase "in individual cases" was singled out for emphasis here by me. And this is precisely what puzzled the parishioners with their uncertainty. And they decided to evade the law. They relied on luck--perhaps when the authorities see that essentially a new church is being built, it will be passed through. It was not...

On 1 August 1986, exactly a year and a half after it was begun, the construction was stopped. It is an extremely important fact that for a year and a half, in view of the entire stanitsa on its main street, 300 meters from the building housing the party raykom and the rayispolkom, the walls were raised for a new building which, we must say, is attractive, and was being erected with love and feeling, and with care for each stone and each board. A. D. Kudinov, secretary of the party raykom, said to his colleagues:

"We could learn here how to build as rapidly and well as the old men and women are building."

Often brick and other materials were carried to the construction site late at night or very early in the morning (they were bringing them from far away and did not arrive at a convenient hour for this reason); nevertheless, the elderly people went out to unload the vehicles at any time of day. They worked together in harmony and rapidly. Someone would touch his heart, sit at one side for a while and then return to work. No days off and no sick leave certificates for you. And here construction has been discontinued and the ispolkom decided to confiscate the uncompleted building as one that was erected illegally and assign another building to the believers (a building, one must admit, is in poor condition, old, and requires complete reconstruction, and has less space besides).

"We will never leave here!" the parishioners said unanimously with more than determination as they surrounded me in a tight circle in the churchyard. "We will fight for our church. We have been collecting the crumbs from our small

pensions for the project, tearing them away from ourselves to make our church attractive. Doesn't each one of us have enough personal tragedies without arranging another one for all of us together?"

For 2 days, Saturday and Sunday, I listened to the stories of the people with wrinkled faces and very sparse gray hair, and it was as if history had passed in front of me. These people are not some kind of fanatics. Many of them are older than the Soviet state, helped to build it, defended it at the front, and lost sons, husbands and fathers in the war...

They did not come to religion from a good life; they were led by misfortune, losses and accidents.

Antonina Arsentyevna Otroshko, in her words, believed in God in 1945, on the day that her tractor ran into a pile of unexploded German shells. Seeing the wheel pressing the shells into the loose earth, she managed only to say: "Lord, save us!" I really don't know by whose "will" the tractor driver and the seven women with her sitting in a small cart are alive, but she has believed in the Most High since then. Antonina Arsentyevna told how terrible it was to live in those hard times, how she ate oil cake, how her hands froze to the tractor, how she extinguished blazing wheat with her body...

There are many veterans and invalids from the war in the community. Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Lysochenko fought on the Southern Front, was wounded several times, contracted tuberculosis and has not overcome the disease since the war years.

"God helped me to survive in the war and is helping me now," the veteran says. "No one can take Him away from us and no one has the right to take our church away, either. The young people go to a club, but where do we go? Where do we unburden our heart? The church is our last consolation."

Grigoriy Dmitriyevich Berdnik, an invalid in the second group, finished the war in Hungary. Yelizabeta Andreyevna Stepanova is a former nurse in a field hospital. Nikita Grigoryevich Ladanov, of the same age, was an infantryman who went as far as Berlin with his heavy machinegun. Arseniya Dmitriyevicha Romanenko ended the war in France, where he worked in a mine and was liberated by the Americans. Petr Panteleyevich, who took part in the Battle of Kursk, was wounded in the legs, the hand, and the collarbone, and lost the gift of speech for 7 months after a concussion...

I am telling about these persons so that readers understand that behind the abstract concept of "believers" there are living persons like our mothers, fathers and grandparents who have suffered immeasurably over their long lives. I confess that this meeting in the churchyard was the most painful impression from my trip to the Kuban. It was unbearably difficult to restrain myself and not to kneel before the old men and women and ask their forgiveness at the end of this wailing, which seemed interminable.

After all, if this is reasoned in a humane manner, what are they guilty of before the law? Yes, official permission was not given for reconstruction of the church. But after all, the project plan had been completed by workers of

the rayispolkom construction department, the official seal was on it and it was stamped to confirm that the design had been coordinated with the rayon's chief architect. They supplied gas to the church with the ispolkom's knowledge.

But later, when it suddenly turned out that a building that was too attractive had been erected on the site of a lopsided shack (but who said that the church should be unattractive?), then commissions began visiting the stanitsa, and only then did they remember the law.

"You know, if this is reasoned in a humane manner, construction of the church should be completed. The project should be legalized and completed. But this is my personal opinion, and I will not be at a loss when it is carried out, so please do not write down my words and the authorities will not catch me--I have heard about such things more than once within the walls of the building where the rayon authorities are situated."

When the commission of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, which had arrived from Moscow, decided to find out the public opinion of the stanitsa residents, it suggested that members of the local commission for assistance in monitoring observance of legislation on religious cults (there are such commissions in every rayispolkom) be convened and that the matter be put to a vote. Six persons voted to legalize the construction that was begun and to leave the church for the parishioners. Two voted for confiscation and assignment of another building.

A shorthand report of the meeting was not made that day, but the chairman of the rayon commission, Ella Yegorovna Zolochevskaya, repeated certain statements for me. Here are the kinds of words that were heard then in the rayispolkom building: "Not only the old people are at fault because the church was not being built on legal grounds. We are all to blame for this. This is a good occasion for us to think about how to work further. How do we ensure that the young people do not go to the church? How do we attract them by our measures? How do we make them interesting? This is what we should be thinking about. Working better--this is what the struggle against religion is."

Words of wisdom. Meanwhile, certain rayispolkom officials prefer another struggle to this one--here they unanimously revile the "insidious churchgoers," forgetting for some reason that the law was violated by these "insidious churchgoers" not only with the connivance of an organ of the Soviet state, but with its assistance as well.

In the office of M. T. Gayevets, empowered to represent Krasnodar Kray for the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, I came across three messengers from the stanitsa of Tbilisskaya. The elderly parishioners begged half the day for permission to complete construction of the church which was stopped by the rayispolkom nearly a year ago. Mikhail Trofimovich cannot authorize this, he has no such powers. He can listen to the tearful requests and he can sympathize with them, but resolving them is the prerogative of those who do not hear sobbing and requests like this: they prefer not to let believers (whom they have spoken to me about more than once) into those offices.

"Let's go to Moscow, they will look into it there," the messengers repeated endlessly, sitting in the representative's office.

"You don't have to go anywhere!" Mikhail Trofimovich said, trying to talk them out of it. "Put the project documents in order as prescribed..."

"They will not permit us to finish building anyway. Since they dismissed the chairman of our rayispolkom because of the church, everyone now is afraid to put in a good word for us. On the contrary, first they order us to take down the cornice, then take out the round windows and put in square ones. But why? There is no law which forbids us to build something attractively. Let's go to Moscow, they will help us there..."

And the messengers go to Moscow. And the commissions leave Moscow for the locality. A commission from the Council for Religious Affairs was just in Krasnoarmeyskaya, looked into the matter for a week, expressed its competent opinion--construction may be legalized and completed, but the officials continued to persist in worrying more about the honor of their regiment than about fully meeting the valid demands of the believers. The local authorities decided to confiscate the church and rebuild it as a nursery school. This is the way they comprehend the struggle against religion.

But the club in the stanitsa stands empty, meanwhile; it stands empty, and the same film has been playing at the only theater for several days.

In preparing for my assignment out of town, I reread many of the classics of scientific communism on matters of religion. These works are in the offices I had to call at, too. More than once I felt the urge to ask if it had been a long time since they opened these eternal books here, but I decided not to ask. But let us leaf through the pages together! Let us dwell on this thought by K. Marx: "Forcible measures against religion are senseless."

Stated as if it were today.

And I will cite an excerpt from a recent article in PRAVDA under the subhead "Atheism Is Strengthened by Deeds": "...talk that being an atheist means being a kind, sympathetic person remains empty unless farm managers look after people."

I see the causes of that unhealthy situation in Krasnodar Kray in the absence of specific real assistance to people (yes, to the believers, but after all, they are Soviet people just as we are!) and in the lack of such concern. How, if not by indifference toward people's needs, do we explain the fact that reconstruction of a house of worship was neglected and was carried out essentially spontaneously, with the violations which stem logically from this?.. It is high time, it has long been high time, to speak about confusion in matters relating to the reconstruction, expansion and construction of houses of worship in general!

Unfortunately, there still are no normative documents regulating such matters. What dimensions may a church have? How many persons should there be here per meter of space? What building additions are permissible? What kind of

architecture should the building have, can a cupola be erected, and how many crosses should there be? (Many local officials are convinced that there should be no crosses or cupolas, so that young people are not attracted.) Finally, who should put the project plans and all the necessary documents together?

There is no clear solution to any of these problems. The jurists, architects, and soviet and party workers who have to deal with problems such as these because of their official position are throwing up their hands in perplexity.

"I have not found a single standard for churches in 25 years of work, but they are necessary in order to avoid misunderstandings," M. A. Yevsyukov, a jurist in the Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayispolkom, told me. Really, how can an ispolkom assist in monitoring observance of laws, regulations and directives if ispolkoms simply do not have these laws, regulations and directives?

Because of the absence of normative documents for the reconstruction and construction of houses of worship, planning organizations very often do not undertake the task of preparing planning documentation, and for this reason the believers are forced to put it together privately in a version convenient for them and, as a rule, such plans really provide for the erection of a new building (as in Krasnoarmeyskaya).

It turns out that we ourselves are creating problems which no one needs. Why does no one need them, by the way? The stir engendered by such occurrences can be used to advantage by bourgeois ideologues, and attacks on our policy with respect to religious societies have noticeably increased lately.

There is one more important consideration. Different religious extremists very cleverly make use of violations of legislation on cults in winning over believers. There have been cases in which anti-Soviet literature has been sent from Western countries, counting on activity by illegal sects.

No it is not a minor dispute that I see between 300 parishioners and the rayispolkom in Krasnoarmeyskaya and other stanitsas in the kray. These "local engagements" are fraught with great danger, especially as we have preferred to remain silent on such situations until now. Must we repeat our own mistakes? Meetings with many people representing the Soviet Government in the Kuban, and then a long conversation with Vladimir, the archbishop for Krasnodar and the Kuban, suggested these ideas to me.

"I was in the stanitsa of Otradnaya recently," the archbishop told me. "The floors in the church there are so rotted through that a woman's heel simply falls through them. The building is in critical condition, and it is life-threatening to pray there. The same situation exists in Temryuk; the ceiling there is propped up by wooden supports. Who needs all this? Tearing down a church building in no way means doing away with religion. On the contrary, this means inflaming animosity between believers and nonbelievers, and it means breeding anti-Soviet attitudes. A shortsighted, foolish policy. The

great Lenin said that unity in the struggle "to create a paradise on earth is more important for us than unity of the workers' opinions on paradise in heaven." The unity of believers and nonbelievers is a fundamental principle of our society. There are enough problems in the world toward which we must direct our joint efforts, without wasting our strength on internecine discord. In my quarter century of service in the patriarchate I have traveled around the world, visited 40 countries, and taken part in many international conferences. Recently I returned from Hiroshima; the purpose of the trip was to develop mutual understanding between countries which had gone through so much during the war. I am now preparing for the fifth traditional peace meeting of Christians from the USSR and Japan which will be held in Minsk."

I want to cite one figure--last year believers in the Krasnodar Eparchy alone voluntarily contributed 600,000 rubles to the Fund for Peace. And returning to the dispute in the stanitsa of Krasnoarmeyskaya, it can be resolved quite simply: they punished four specific individuals in the rayispolkom, so a means can be found to punish the REAL guilty persons in the community. Why punish all the parishioners, and so severely?

Any matter can be settled peacefully if we reason with people in mind. But instead of this they disconnected the gas heating from the old church in the coldest weather. (Probably to please a higher authority which was very indignant because the parishioners complained to those in high positions.) The temperature in the prayer hall dropped to minus 15 degrees, the last teeth of the hatless elderly people were chattering, and infants howled louder than usual when they were christened...

FROM THE EDITORIAL STAFF. When this material had already been readied for publication, we received two reports from Krasnodar Kray. Here is the first one.

"In addition to the material collected by S. Vlasov, OGONEK's special correspondent, on construction of the house of worship in the stanitsa of Krasnoarmeyskaya in Krasnodar Kray, be advised that the matter cited has been reviewed at the bureau of the CPSU kraykom.

"For the absence of control which led to the development of a dispute with the believers, A. D. Kudinov, first secretary of the Krasnoarmeyskiy Raykom of the CPSU, has been given a severe reprimand which has been recorded in his file. The raykom of the CPSU and the rayispolkom have taken steps to punish employees of local organs guilty of engaging in illegal construction.

"A decision has been made to legalize construction of the house of worship and to correct the miscalculations in the homemade project at the same time, particularly to eliminate the cupolas which, in the specialists' judgment, cannot be supported by the roof structure. When construction is completed, the building will be turned over for the believers' use.

"Measures are being taken by the representative of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the Krasnodar Ispolkom against leaders of the church council who permitted flagrant violations of Soviet laws on religious cults.

"The dispute has been settled by the steps taken and the situation in the stanitsa of Krasnoarmeyskaya is returning to normal.

"[Signed] B. Kibirev, secretary of the CPSU kraykom."

It has also come to our attention that the executive organ of the religious association which permitted violations of the law has been completely reelected.

Yes, we want to believe that the dispute in the stanitsa of Krasnoarmeyskaya has really been settled, but this case will serve as a lesson and warn us against mistakes which, as we see, can be easily avoided. If we reason with people in mind, in a modern way, based on principle...

8936

CSO: 1800/691

## SHORTCOMINGS IN GEORGIAN ATHEISTIC WORK EXAMINED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 17 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,600-word article titled "In Accordance With Today's Requirements" by Professor Doctor of Philosophy Davit Gegeshidze, head of the Scientific Communism and Atheism Department in the Tbilisi Medical Institute, concerning a number of shortcomings in atheistic work and the need to restructure efforts there, to get rid of outmoded axioms and dogmas that hamper effective inculcation of the scientific world view. It is essential to determine what factors "nourish" religious beliefs in certain segments of society in order to find ways to overcome them.

Atheism is much more than a mere "denial of God," more than merely "the antithesis of religion." Atheism "ceases to exist as an independent science" unless it goes beyond those narrow definitions (which "the bourgeois-clerical falsifiers" take advantage of for their own ends). Failure to focus on atheism's positive functions results in weakening of its position; when its positive aspects are neglected, it comes to seem nothing more than a "bogeyman."

Much atheistic literature mistakenly insists that religion has played no positive or decisive role in Georgian history, a distorted viewpoint which only serves to damage atheism's credibility; what is necessary is to demonstrate that it is the "people," not just Christianity, who are to be credited for key historic advances.

It is also mistaken to insist that religiosity today represents but "vestiges of the past"--after all, today's believers were born, grew up, and were educated under socialism. Nor does it help to blame the phenomenon on "ignorance," as some do: socialism has abolished illiteracy and enhanced society's culture.

In the same vein, the correct view that religious ideas flourish in part because of adverse social factors runs up against the fact of existing social difficulties and many people's sense that they cannot be overcome. The consequences of "social inequality, bureaucratism, cronyism, and individual humiliation [unizheniye]" have led to a loss of faith in moral values and the law.

It is a fact that religiosity is to a large extent rooted in "fear of nature." Even now, the dire consequences of Chernobyl, the Nakhimov tragedy, and recent floods and other natural disasters have frightened many

in the contemplation that "nature can still punish." With regard to the scientific-technical revolution, "for years we ascribed the problems growing out of it only to the capitalist countries and denied that they existed here."

On a more upbeat note, the author states that "believers are Soviet citizens, and changes in their consciousness are bound to influence the social and political position of religious bodies. Their willingness to fight for peace can serve to activate the church's peace efforts. It is wise to utilize believers' readiness to participate in the building of communism, in restructuring."

Finally, he urges that group and individual work with believers rely more on "dialogue rather than monologue," and that such "insulting" lecture signs as "The Reactionary Nature of Religious Teaching" be dispensed with.

6854

CSO: 1813/409

PREMIERE OF 'REPENTANCE' ANNOUNCED IN MOSCOW

Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 28 Jan 87 p 3

[Unsigned article under rubric "Cinema": "A Long-Awaited Film"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Rossiya movie theater was the premiere of the artistic film "Pokayaniye" [Repentance].

The move was filmed by Director T. Abuladze in the Gruziya-Film movie studio, in the style of a parable. The screenplay, by T. Abuladze, N. Dzhanelidze, and R. Kveselav, is directed toward each one of us, since it deals with the problem of an individual's moral responsibility to himself, to life, and to society.

Correspondents of newspapers and journals have repeatedly requested USSR People's Artist T. Abuladze to talk about the new film. And each time the director has refused to do this. "During the 2 hours and 20 minutes that the film runs, I address the viewers. I cannot add anything to what the film will tell them."

But a great deal is being said about the new film by those who have already seen it.

"I sincerely envy the viewers," says playwright M. Shatrov. "They are about to meet a film which is an event not only in the artistic sphere but also in the social and political life of our country. Soviet literature and art have long awaited this phenomenon. And now the viewer meets face to face a remarkable artistic work, achieved through its creator's suffering."

The film is not simple to watch. But its complexity is that complexity which forces us to think and ponder, to find the answers. It is a complexity which will not leave anyone indifferent, either among those who like the film or among those who do not understand it, and there will be many such.

The film "Repentance" forces those who see it to become stronger and more courageous. It is the highest call to responsibility. And although it is made in an allegorical fashion, in the theater one can scarcely find any viewers who do not relate its events with our own not-so-distant past. And more than this: this film might have been made by a man whose heart is

bleeding and who lives with complete confidence that in the future we will travel a radiant path.

Besides at the Rossiya movie theater, "Repentance" is showing in five other theaters which are having a Georgian Cinema Week.

One of the participants in the Georgian Cinema Week, Georgian director E. Shengelaya had this to say about the showing in Moscow:

"We participants in Georgian Cinema Week are experiencing a feeling of double responsibility. First, there is the responsibility to the Moscow screen. Second, there is the responsibility to the city which we consider our native city, since the films of Georgian cinema week are made by people who have studied in Moscow, in the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography, and who have been Muscovites during the best years of their lives. Our teachers were M. Romm, S. Yutkevich, and S. Gerasimov. And so our success today is also the success of the entire Soviet cinema--many-sided and multilingual.

"The present day is a time of restructuring. This applies to every person. But there are amazing people who are not in need of restructuring today--they have long since taken the lead in this process. T. Abuladze has been one of these since his first step on the screen. He has always lived according to the measures of conscience and high art."

12255

CSO: 1800/396

MOSCOW WEEKLY INTERVIEWS DIRECTOR OF 'REPENTANCE'

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 8

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Lidiya Polskaya interviews Tengiz Abuladze, director of the film "Pokayaniye" [Repentance]: "About the Past: For the Future"]

[Text] Filled theaters, applause in movie theaters, and an unprecedented number of reviews--all of this is proof that a long-awaited Event has occurred in the cinema. We knew that sooner or later this would happen, because we have to interpret the lessons of our history.

During the first 10 days that Tengiz Abuladze's film "Repentance" was showing in the movie theaters of Moscow, over 700,000 people saw it.

The screenplay of "Repentance" was written in 1982, and filming was completed towards the end of 1984. At that time the movies were presenting us with a multitude of entertainment films, monotonous and unthinking, or pictures in which we could only with difficulty, by just a single, extraneous, accidental sign, understand that they were about the real life of people like you and me. The film service was complaining about a decrease in attendance, and in order to put a stop to this dropoff, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography put its stake on these very entertainment films. And the films which were considered either too pointed or too difficult lay on the shelves. That is a brief description of the moment.

Against this background, the endeavor undertaken by Tengiz Abuladze bore the stamp of lunacy. A careful man would most likely have seen in front of him the downfall of the endeavor, and would not have had anything to do with it.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: Did you believe at that time that the film would ever get to the screen?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: You know...I did believe it. One of the great architects of our time, in response to a question about the secret of his creative work, answered: "I have a good customer." A good customer--that's all. People often ask me: "What is the reason for the theatrical and cinematic boom in Georgia? Usually I answer: "We have a lot of sun in Georgia, and this sun shines just the same for artists as it does for leaders." This is a joke, of

course, but there's a lot of truth in it. If I had not met with understanding and support, I never could have rolled up such a mountain. There was still another factor which strengthened my resolve: my only route to the movie studio lay through streets which bore the names of director Sandro Akhmeteli, director Yevgeniy Mikeladze, and prominent Georgian party figure Mamiya Orakhelashvili. And involuntarily, my thoughts would turn to their tragic fate. I would also think about the many other people who were repressed, then rehabilitated--but only after they were already dead! And then streets were named after them. I would recall the bitter words of Sergey Eyzenshteyn: "In our life, the truth always triumphs, but frequently there is not enough life." and then not so long ago, literally a year ago, I heard this thought again in conversation. Between the first and the second time it was expressed, almost 40 years had passed! But even today the truth does not always find it easy to carve a way for itself, and therefore this film had to be made.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: "Repentance" is also perceived as a film directed not only at the past, toward memory, but also toward the future. At the beginning of the 19th century, Karamzin wrote about the era of Ivan the Terrible: the terror "has touched with its ruinous hand times far in the future: for the swarm of informers, slanderers, and bullies formed by it, like a swarm of pestilential insects, has left an evil seed in the people before it disappeared." And the more clearly and openly we talk about this, the fewer chances for survival any of these "pestilences" will have. "Repentance" is a tale which you have told on behalf of the people who do not wish the return of hard times.

TENGIZ ABULADZE: In this sense, I myself see "Repentance" as a cautionary film.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: Like any parable, it is broader than the specific historical situation, the specific subject. Many reviews are saying that Varlam Aravidze is the screen incarnation of a certain specific historical person. Associations, of course, can arise because of certain outward details. But I got the impression--I was obliged to, by the film itself--that you, the director, did not very much want direct comparisons and allusions, because they would foreordain the sense of the work. It presents generalizations of a much higher order.

TENGIZ ABULADZE: We tried to get away from specifics. Every tyrant, every director--from Nero to the "black colonels"--has conducted himself in exactly the same way. This is precisely why we wanted to eliminate both the time and the place of the action, why we forced the history and culture of various times to work for us, and why we included a great number of "quotations" in the film to expand its sense. Knights, for example, that symbol of force, appear in the forms of the Middle Ages. And the woman with the book on her head, walking in a church--"the scientist devouring himself" is a direct borrowing from Bosch. When we made the film, we consciously combined a phantasmagoria and conventionality in precise details. Behind every episode in the film there is a nonfictitious fact, a real person. One time the famous literary expert, Vladimir Nikolayevich Turbin, with whom I am friends, came to Tbilisi. He lived with me. Once he suggested that I go to see Ketusa Orakhelashvili--a woman who had spent many years in exile, then returned and

made a living by making cakes. I was not acquainted with her, I simply knew that there was such a person. We went to see Ketusa and she told us her entire history, everything. She talked for some 5 hours. And she was a brilliant storyteller. We went back on foot, walking for a long time without speaking to each other, such a vast impression had Ketusa's reminiscences made upon us. And then when we were almost home, I asked Vladimir Nikolayevich: "What do you think, if an artist wanted to relate to people--through the theater, or literature, or cinema--everything that we have heard from Ketusa, would merely realistic devices be sufficient for this? Or would it be necessary to resort to surrealism, to the absurd? The grotesque, phantasmagoria?" It seems to me that even in the most desperate moments no force is capable of annihilating good, or creation. But a story so fantastic and absurd in many of its manifestations that the devices of realistic art cannot reconstruct it completely and authentically--this requires a form and a style which better answer its essence.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: And in true history there have been times when the absurd has become a fact of life. One of your characters, Mikhail, says that he was supposed to have dug a tunnel from Bombay to London, but haven't we really heard, in people's stories, about such accusations, on the basis of which sentence was pronounced?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: Yes, and the phrase "from Bombay to London" is also taken from real life. We simply altered it geographically a little, made it into a more conventional version. Perhaps for no reason at all....

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: The central character of the film is Varlam Aravidze. But no matter how powerful a dictator is, he never acts alone, there are always assistants who have been infected by that skillful demagogic which the Master himself wields so deftly. The tendency toward rigid but convenient dogmatic thinking puts out, as a rule, deep roots, which has an effect on subsequent generations as well. Ketevan, Avel, and his wife each perceive history in a different way. One feels that the generation of Varlam's "children" interests you no less than Varlam himself. Could that be because you yourself belong, in a way, to this generation?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: I think that Avel is terrifying. He is even more dangerous than Varlam, because Avel in some sense is an integrated figure, his actions were always the actions of a devil, and therefore they could only sometimes be foreseen. And with Avel it is impossible to know anything in advance, because his consciousness is split in two. He is a corrupt man, he does not know the border between good and evil. "I preach atheism and at the same time I carry a cross"--this is what he says, and this is his essence. Aren't there other such people among us, with a split consciousness? Nothing worries Avel, apart from his personal well-being. Today, in the era of restructuring--and I believe absolutely in restructuring, it is impossible not to, because we cannot not believe in common sense--it is the people such as Avel who are dragging us backwards. He is his father's son, for him it is more comfortable, more cozy back there, in the past. People like Avel are the broth which nourishes future Varlams. They do not surrender, because they think: "After me, the flood," after me everything ends--the earth, the

universe, the grass, the soul. They do not believe in spiritual inheritance, and they do not think about the inheritors.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: In "Repentance" are there any of your personal, childhood or adolescent memories and experiences?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: I myself and my family did not suffer, but our relatives suffered, our acquaintances, neighbors and all Georgia--a small country. And the intelligentsia suffered especially. All of this influenced my consciousness, affected my attitude toward everything which was happening.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: In the film this episode takes place: under Varlam's window passes a truck filled with arrested people--there are both women and men, both young and old. All of them have a single last name....

TENGIZ ABULADZE: ...Darbaiseli. This episode has its own history, which in a way adds on to what has just been said. When we were shooting the film, a different last name was used in this episode--Amilakhari. This is an ancient line, of which not one individual now remains in all Georgia.... But we felt that this episode would have too strong an emotional impact for Georgians, and we gave it up.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: One of the most important motifs of "Repentance" is the motif of the dictator's opposition to the intelligentsia and artists. When the time of "famine and plague" begins, all hopes rest with people of the spirit, because they, better than others, are able to realize what has happened, because they have greater reserves of strength and they are not given to being infected with dogma. In the film there is a remarkable episode, quite brief, which is a sort of reflection of this idea: hearing the thunderous speeches of Varlam, the artist Sandro Barateli shuts the window tight. By isolating himself, he preserves himself, his own essence, and through this the best qualities of his people for future times. This is why the dictator must kill him, because the dictator places no value either in the concept of the church or in the concept of the future. But the film is so complicated and multifaceted that I would not insist on my own interpretation.

TENGIZ ABULADZE: The movie's entire system of imagery gives space for varying interpretations. But there are episodes in it which cannot tolerate varying interpretations. According to design, they are supposed to be perceived by all viewers identically.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: It is easy to tell which ones they are: the episode in line or by the logs, at the station. We can philosophize about the image of the Church, and find the idea of learning brought into the church, the idea of power, of suicide--here we will make our interpretations each according to his abilities, but in these episodes the old universal grief survives.

TENGIZ ABULADZE: The retreat from multiple meanings to a direct text is something we did intentionally. We were talking about Avel's duplicity. But it seems to me that this is also manifested in Ketevan, in the heroine who arouses general sympathies. After all, her cream-colored churches do not have

any relation to what is genuine, they are ersatz--and cream-colored churches are devoured without a moment's thought.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: Allow me to defend your heroine. Ketevan is a person with a fractured spine. For her entire life she has not followed the course which has been laid out for her by her origins, her education, and talents. The dictator has ordered fate. And she maintains her memory of the church, of her parents in these cream-colored buildings. Every day she reconstructs five, 10 churches by the means within her power--and thus she does not allow the church to be forgotten. Or, following the thought of Voltaire's "Candide"--each person must cultivate his own garden.

TENGIZ ABULADZE: When we filmed the scene with the cakes, frankly, I did not connect them whatsoever with the church which was destroyed. I am glad that viewers enrich the film with their own ideas--this means that they are primordially placed in it. The creative process in general is the creation of order from chaos, the extraction of form from formlessness. But the nature of creativity, according to my deep conviction, is unknowable. It is found somewhere in the subconscious. There are shots--not only in "Repentance" but, for example, in "Mol'ba" [Supplication] as well--which I myself cannot explain. They were born as the result of some inspiration, some illumination. In "Repentance" there are not only individual shots or phrases, but even entire episodes which I dreamed. In sleep, probably, my subconscious threw them out to me. In the original version, the avenger who digs up Varlam was supposed to be played by a man. According to the screenplay, this was a fallen artist, a sign painter, a bit of a drunkard. In general, a man of the street. We had even found the actor already, a very good actor, incidentally. And suddenly one beautiful night I realized: it should be a woman who takes vengeance on the buried dictator! When I announced this to the group, everyone was simply up in arms against me. On the film we had what we called a "brain center" which, apart from the director, included several other people--screenplay author Nana Dzhanelidze, second director Nelli Kutateladze, and others. They were adamantly opposed to my suggestion, but in argument they were not able to formulate their position distinctly. They even began to write me letters. They wanted to convince me that this was an unbelievable resolution: a woman would be physically incapable of doing that--of digging up an enormous man. Trusting in my intuition, I stuck to my guns. And when people ask me now whether I am satisfied with the picture, I reply: "Yes, I am satisfied." This phase in our artistic truth was not present at the very beginning. It came later, when we had already reached the rerecording. I was actually the first to see my film, and since that time I have not lost the feeling of conviction that I had done everything correctly.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: And was there that same conviction on the first viewing of your other films?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: There are always some doubts. Once during a montage of a picture--this was still before the filming of the trilogy--I wanted to destroy all my material. It seemed that it was all very bad, nothing had turned out right, and things like that. But here, in "Repentance," some kind of sixth sense--intuition, perhaps--led me. Soon after the completion of "Drevo Zhelaniya" [Tree of Desire], the film I made just prior to this one, I was in

a terrible automobile accident. As you can see, I lived. And as soon as I first realized what had happened to me, or more precisely, what could have happened, I became convinced: if nature had left me among the living, I was supposed to do something. Soon after the work on "Repentance" began. As I have already said, we believed that ultimately audiences would see the film. But, so that we would not despair ahead of time, we resolved that we would make the film for ourselves. Even if it would be seen only in Georgia--it must be made! And even if it never got off the lot of Gruziya-Film Movie Studio--it must be made! I needed to have that fact of the creation of this film, even if it would only be shown twice in all.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: For middle-aged people who have seen and lived through a lot, no additional explanation of certain episodes is necessary, and one may hope that they will accept the film and understand it as the story of the life of their generation. But the younger generation, which has--and this is an excellent thing!--grown up in a different time, how will it perceive the film? In the movie theaters where "Repentance" is showing, there are always many young people. Does the meaning of the film reach them? Are they interested in our general history?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: So far I can speak only for Georgian young people: they have comprehended the film wonderfully, and appreciated the candid discussion about fathers and sons. The theme of the interrelations between generations is always interesting to young people, just as is the theme of lying--those who are just beginning life, as a rule, are affected by it in a very unhealthy way. Falsehood has a very strong influence on our life. What are we now fighting against, in essence? With falsehood! It is no coincidence that the theme of lying is examined in such a surprisingly strong film as "Legko li byt' molodym?" [Is It Easy To Be Young?]. In "Repentance" Tornike's conflict with his father is true to the rule. Young people feel lies especially keenly, and respond to them which actions which adults cannot always understand and explain. But it is very simple to understand them: they want the truth! Tornike loved his grandfather very much, not suspecting that people were concealing from him the actual nature of this man, and, as it turns out, concealing the truth. In court everything is revealed to Tornike. And, by shooting himself, he deals with, in a way, the genetic legacy of his grandfather.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: He severs the line...

TENGIZ ABULADZE: Yes.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: Tornike's suicide is inevitable; the young generation, when they find out, all draw the same moral conclusion: the existence of diabolical evil is against nature. But, after all, doesn't every suicide mean a dead end?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: Not a dead end, no! More like a maze in which complete truth will point out the exit.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: I watched the film two times, and both times the audience was shaken and enthralled. But I have heard that at some showings members of

the audience, mostly young people, left the theater. There were very few of them, but there were some. How do you explain this? Were they bored because it was not "light entertainment?"

TENGIZ ABULADZE: I think that more likely this happens because of the unusual form of the film. I admit that many people can be irritated by just this form, that it can build a wall between the work and the viewer. With regard to one of my pictures people have asked me: "The film had good press, but at the same time it did not have box office success. Does this bother you?" No. An inspired artist needs an audience which is just as inspired. And an inspired audience is a qualitative category rather than a quantitative one.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: In "Repentance," both quantity and quality of audiences have been gathering. Does this mean that the strange, "uninspired" viewer who remains on the sidelines will stay that way, and there is no hope that under the influence of the film he might change in any way at all, might understand something?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: Once I had a meeting in one of the institutes. A man came on the stage and said: "Today I watched a film for the second time. When I saw it the first time, I make no secret of it, I did not like it at all. But now I have a completely different opinion, although I still have some complaints about the picture." From the audience came the retort: "Watch it a third time!" I am convinced that if he really did watch it a third time, he would become a whole-hearted "fan" of the film. The fact that "Repentance" is playing everywhere signifies to me one of the evidences of the moral reawakening of people like you and me.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: And on the other hand, the film itself is promoting this. But is it just an accident that the long-awaited work was created not in literature but in the cinema, and that it has left everyone behind?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: The cinema is a very high art form. It is mistrusted because it does not often demonstrate the heights of which it is capable. Strange as it may seem, people have tried many times to convince me that the cinema is merely a trade. And these people often include those who hold leadership positions in cinematography. After "Tree of Desire," one of them, who had a very good relationship with me, suggested to me, out of the best possible motives, that I make a film in collaboration with France. I read the submission of a French author. It seemed to me that it was hack work, and I turned it down. Then I turned down another--for the exact same reasons. Finally, probably taking offense, this leader said to me: "You know, the cinema is not an art, it is a trade. Come on, film the picture. You'll go to France, you'll live in Paris." No, nevertheless, in making a movie one must always remember that this is a high art, and not commerce.

LIDIYA POLSKAYA: As a parting shot, let's dive into history. The film "Ivan Groznyy" [Ivan the Terrible], which also might be called an "anatomy of power," was made by Sergey Eyzenshteyn more than 40 years ago. What do you think of it?

TENGIZ ABULADZE: Rezo Chkheidze and I, when we were quite young, liked this film so much that we wrote a letter to Sergey Eyzenshteyn, who was at that time in the Kremlin Hospital. We wrote that we were prepared to work as his lighting crew, just to breathe the same air he did. And we received a wonderful response. He warned us that the bread of a cinematographer is very heavy bread, and the labor very likely the heaviest of all the different types of artistic labor. The era of the Renaissance, he wrote, when students worked in the studio along with the master, was over now. Therefore, if you do not go to the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography, nothing will turn out for you. Many years passed.... You were asking me about Eyzenshteyn's conception? I feel exactly the same about the movie "Ivan the Terrible" as I did when I was young.

\* \* \*

With the filming of "Repentance," Tengiz Abuladze has completed the trilogy begun with "Supplication" and "Tree of Desire." Almost 20 years of work--it is miserly. And furthermore, "Supplication" has still not yet gathered an audience--the film played for a short time on the third screen, in clubs, without publicity, because when it was released it was assigned to Category 3, where it still remains, despite a grand prize at the International Festival in San Remo. Recently, in the winter, "Supplication" (along with "Tree of Desire") was showing in a Moscow theater for second-run movies. It was a great success. The film, not a bit out of date, returned to those days which we encountered in "Repentance."

The film has a wonderful title. It is a pity that a film so rarely begins for us with the title.

12255

CSO: 1800/396

## 'REPENTANCE' VILLAINS 'STILL WITH US', SAYS GEORGIAN REVIEWER

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi SABCHOTA KHELOVNEBA in Georgian No 4, April 1987 carries on pages 98-103 Levan Sanikidze's 3,200-word review of the film "Repentance" [Georgian "Monanieba," Russian "Pokayaniye"], titled "The Traces Terrify" (the title is the equivalent of Horace's "Vestigia terrent").

Lavishing praise on the film as an artistic work, "a renaissance" work, Sanikidze says however that it is more than just a "routine triumph" [ocherednaya pobeda]: it is a landmark event in that it finally states that which "had lain for a half century on ordinary men's souls, like a smothering nightmare," laying bare, after "an interval of fear and terror," the national-moral-cultural tragedy visited upon Georgia and the Georgians. At the same time, the film--which has been most readily and profoundly appreciated by young people, the nation's future--constitutes "an apotheosis of hope."

Nevertheless, there are many viewers who complain "Why dig all that up?" and who try to dismiss the evils depicted in it with the phrase "That's the way times were then." In response, the reviewer quotes from Tolstoy's "Nikolay Palkin" (Nicholas I), in which the Russian writer castigates his own countrymen for trying to ignore or dismiss the evils committed by Russian rulers from Peter I onward. As long as we refuse to acknowledge our sickness, Tolstoy and Sanikidze both warn, it will not be cured; if we continue to deceive ourselves, we will become its victim.

More than just complaining, there were those who actually tried to block the film (its maker Tengiz Abuladze, in a 4 November 1986 KOMUNISTI interview, mentioned "thorns strewn in the path"). It is they, and people like them, whom we must be wary of still.

The monstrous tragedy that befell Georgia, as allegorized in the film, took place exactly 30 years from the time of the murder of [19th-century literatus and statesman] Ilia Chavchavadze at Tsitsamuri in 1907. In the 1930s, moreover, it was "men of the same spiritual ilk" who "seized the time to persecute and destroy the heirs of Ilia." Both Ilia and one of these "heirs" who is cited by name, Ivane Dzhavakhishvili [the revered historian who, however, survived the purges] were reviled for "preaching Christianity and feudalism," although Ilia's hypocritical denigrators later turned around and praised him.

The point, says reviewer Sanikidze, is that "they"--the Aravidzes [named for Varlam Aravidze, the Stalin/Beria-like villain of "Repentance"]--are still among us, biding their time, and if "those times" return, they will again revile Ilia and attempt to destroy Ilia's heirs. The film dramatically portrays the "radical brutality" that "destroyed Georgia's choice sons," wielded by a man "bestialized by the loftiest political and state convictions"; it is a classic example of Juvenal's definition of "dictatorial absolutism."

A number of other telling themes and episodes in the film are sketched or alluded to. The reviewer quotes in full a scene in which Abel, the son of Varlam, is confessing his sins--which include "spiritual split" [dukhovnoye razdvojeniye] and hypocrisy--to a "priest" who is actually Varlam, who cynically absolves the son and at the same time mockingly insinuates greater sins. The suicide of Varlam's grandson Tornike is termed by the reviewer a "cleansing/catharsis" and more: a Christlike sacrifice to "redeem sinners and lead his contemporaries out of the darkness." Other parallels with "Christ's way" to "rebirth" are also briefly drawn. In general, Sanikidze praises the film maker's artistic use of world/biblical/mythological symbols and allegorical resonances.

The film is likened to the greatest historical-literary landmarks of Georgian culture in its depiction of the virtuous and the evil personages that inhabit Georgian history. As such, "Repentance" is a "touchstone," reactions to which define any person's stance. Finally, while acknowledging that the film is a fitting culmination to Abuladze's masterly trilogy that began with "Supplication" and "The Wishing Tree," reviewer Sanikidze urges that it now be made the third member of yet another, even greater historic trilogy of the Georgian nation. The first film in this "dream trilogy" should depict the assassination of Ilia Chavchavadze in 1907, and the second should deal with the tragedy of 1918-1924 [no details as to the actual theme of this period are hinted at].

The reviewer does not mention either Stalin or Beria.

#### GEORGIAN ARTISTS UNION HEAD ON PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi SABCHOTA KHELOVNEBA in Georgian No 4, April 1987 carries on pages 117-121 Georgian Artists Union Chairman Elgudzha Amashukeli's 2,800-word article "Openness and Truth in Art," in which he examines a number of problems and prospects in the fine arts under conditions of the new openness and restructuring. Art's duty has always been to show the truth and fix responsibility. In recent years, however, criticism and self-criticism have been "weak." It is essential now to change work style--among other concerns, "not to wait until tomorrow to judge works as bad or lacking talent."

These concerns are tied in with social and political restructuring that now make it possible and imperative to expose "official wrongs and lies, so that for example janitors and ministers are equally punishable for crimes." Too many in positions of leadership "have preached one thing but done another,"

leading to social degeneration. Half-truths, half-actions, half-concessions, and so on give rise to money-grubbing, extortion, nihilism and cynicism, and cronyism--all in the pursuit of "earthly goods."

In the same vein, the Chernobyl tragedy is not to be abstracted from bad art or any other manifestation of shoddiness; "deadly radiation can be both physical and spiritual." All vice is rooted in man's nature and flows from there to corrupt society.

The author then discusses misapprehensions on the part of many of the Artists Union's 1,500-odd members as to the true role and functions of the union. In their subjectivism and egocentrism they view it as a kind of "social security" or channel through which to demand work (commissions), prizes and jubilees, cars and other perks, and even repairs in their homes. Thus they fail to distinguish between what they have coming to them and what they should do for themselves. In any case, the union's fund or base "is rather limited" and cannot meet all members' real or assumed needs. For all too many, the arts are nothing but a means to "earthly prosperity."

The word "output" is, too often, wrongly applied to artists, and in any case the problem has been the failure to evaluate artists' works properly; many "norms" have been "violated." In this context, it is a fact that many untalented artists have been earning more in a month than genuine artists earn in a year. How do they get their "jobs?" In too many cases, it is through connivance, bribes, and kickbacks.

Much of the blame also goes to the art councils of the "art combines" [kombinaty] under the Republic Monumental Arts Council of the Georgian Culture Ministry, for lack of discrimination and principle in approving costly and unworthy projects; one result of this is that "the fund is in serious trouble." A member of the Council himself, the author acknowledges his own guilt. A Central Committee commission had to take a hand in the matter.

For all that, the Artists Union has endeavored to provide for its members, to uphold high standards and the organization's authority. Moreover, "we do not want to see suffering and unappreciated artists among us."

In the past while, the right to exhibit has been granted to "all artistic 'isms' and schools except those that are anti-Soviet," because any practice which "blocks the way to beauty and goodness" can only lead to "cynicism, indifferentism, and evil." It is desirable to "bring back" those who, for one reason or another, turned to the art combines.

The author deplores those artists who have wrapped their "mediocrity" [serost] in the "flag of patriotism, passed themselves off as guardians of the national culture, and attempted to compromise real talent." We also have too many "show-saints" [pokaznyye svyatyye] who would blame their own personal and creative weaknesses on "the disorder in the country" and choose to confine their work to "egoistic realism."

Finally, the author states that "we come to earth but once, and God has pointed our own life's path but once; how sad, therefore, that we find more time to fight one another than to love."

#### SHODDY PRINTING OF GEORGIAN CLASSIC DECRIED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 8 April 1987 carries on page 4 V. Mardaleishvili's 200-word letter of complaint, "Why? How Long?" concerning the shoddiness of a recent printing of the Georgian epic poem "Man in the Panther's Skin," published by Sabchota Sakartvelo. This classic work, cherished by all Georgians, is printed on two types of paper, the binding is wretchedly attached and the pages fall out, and the pages have been crudely cut. The writer lists by name all the principals involved in the publication, from editor thorough press director, but places immediate blame on the printers. The revered author of the work, Shota Rustaveli, surely deserves better.

In conclusion, Bitsadze asks indignantly, "Would any other cultured nation in the world treat its premier poet that way? Probably only us!"

#### 'REHABILITATION' OF EMIGRE GEORGIAN WRITERS URGED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 17, 24 April 1987 devotes most of page 2 to an unsigned 1,800-word editorial under the title "Names Brought Back," concerning the ongoing restoration/reinstatement/rehabilitation of many emigre writers, a phenomenon that is proceeding apace, in particular, in the all-union press.

Writers have always been given the noble but difficult task of telling the truth, whether in conjunction with the times or in advance of them. At the same, all too often, "we have thwarted signs of creative individuality and imposed konyunktura." As a result, many left their homeland and were subsequently "forgotten, made anathema, and erased from literary history as if they had never existed."

Now, all that is being acknowledged, and wrongs are being righted (Likhachev is quoted in this regard). The editorial presents a long list of Russian writers who lived and worked in exile, and notes the current or planned publication of certain of their masterpieces. It is emphasized that all of them loved Russia with all their heart. Ironically, they gained great fame abroad while they were ignored in their homeland--and not just as a consequence of Western anti-Sovietism, either (though that too was a factor).

Naturally, the task of examining emigre writers' works in an objective manner and assigning them properly to their niche in literature is a complex one and will take a long time, "but we owe it to subsequent generations and our own conscience to bring back this forgotten generation."

The editorial brings the focus to the question of Georgian emigre writers in the final dozen lines, expressing the hope that "this process will also extend to Georgian literary history and make [our] silent names speak." Noting that the rich and famous Vladimir Nabokov lived in hotels throughout his life in exile, eschewing a home of his own outside his homeland, the editors state that it has been the same for exiled Georgian writers as well, "whose true home remains in Georgia...and it is time to bring them home."

No actual names of any Georgian emigre writers are given in the editorial.

6854

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SOCIAL ISSUES

JURIST REFLECTS WHILE REVIEWING NARCOTICS-RELATED CAPITAL CRIME

Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 27 May 87 p 4

[Article by O. Yakomenko, chief justice of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court:  
"Death Sentence"]

[Text] The case of O. Pudla came up for review after he had been sentenced to death by the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Court. The sentence had been confirmed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court. In such situations the condemned individual has the right to appeal to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for clemency. However, the convict elected not to avail himself of his rights. Evidently, he felt that the sentence was just. Even under such circumstances the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet still reviews these types of cases. In accordance with the law I, as the chief justice, am required to render a recommendation regarding the possibility of clemency. When it comes to a human life all facts have to be considered, even when it comes to a particularly dangerous criminal.

Who is O. V. Pudla? He is a 22-year-old man who grew up in an ordinary working family. The father works in the vegetable trade in Krivoy Rog, and the mother is a housekeeper. He finished eight classes of regular school and then enrolled and graduated from a technical school. Both the parents and the state did everything possible to give him an education and a trade. He had the opportunity to live and work like all decent people; to get married, raise children, and enjoy life.

But he did not start a family, and was disinclined to work. He led a parasitic existence for which he was sentenced to loss of freedom for a year and a half in 1984. The judges were faced with the question of determining why a young man with a good trade was not employed. It turned out that Pudla was not without an occupation, but his occupation was criminal in nature and related to narcotics. He brought and sold narcotics, used them, and enticed others to use narcotics.

Such activities required money, and Pudla knew how to get it. He burglarized an apartment of 1,100 rubles worth of goods. Thirteen days later in Gorky he attacked a taxi driver with an axe and robbed him of 25 rubles. Although he was certain that he had killed his victim, physicians managed to save the driver's life through heroic measures. Eight days later, having returned to Krivoy Rog, he entered a neighbor's apartment with the intention of burglarizing it to buy narcotics and, in the process, killed the neighbor and her six year old daughter.

Reviewing the case one cannot help but think about the hundreds of others who come under the spell of narcotics and wind up in court, as did Pudla. More and more is being said about the penetration of drug abuse habits into our country. Why have such individuals appeared in our country who, as the medical profession put it, "have developed a craving for one or more synthetic or plant substances. This problem has developed despite the fact that the Soviet society struggles for a healthy way of life and strives to provide every individual with all the advantages that a socialist society can provide.

I recall a conference I had with one mother who wished to discuss personal matters. She was concerned about her son who also committed a crime related to drugs. To support his habit he took to burglarizing homes.

She remonstrated that she and her husband were well educated and materially well off, and simply wanted to bring their son up as they had been brought up. Listen to her it became obvious that she was preoccupied with herself. There wasn't a word said about the son. Yet the son was 17 years old. Why? Was there nothing to be said about him? Yet he started on narcotics when he was 15 years old. As he explained in the court, initially it was out of curiosity but then it became a daily need. That is a disease that is hard to treat medically and invariably leads to crime.

Did she know that her son was using narcotics? There was a moment of silence and then she admitted that she knew. When asked why she did nothing to stop him, she responded with a long silence.

The court proceedings clarified some things. The son had already been convicted of for using, keeping, buying and selling narcotics. At that time he promised to never do it again. The court believed him. A judgement was passed, but execution of the sentence was suspended for two years. However, within half a year he was back at his old activities. And what did the parents do? They simply stopped giving him money to buy drugs. The son decided to get money on his own. Things developed further, with the users not only meeting at his apartment, but also conducting their drug trade there.

Under the influence of the drugs the boy bragged about his activities and his friends during the court proceedings.

We cannot, of course, attribute any direct wrongdoing to the mother. After all, the meetings were held in her absence, but her moral responsibility is great. She saw her son's downfall and did nothing to prevent it.

The court combined the two sentences and also ordered drug rehabilitation. The mother's appeal had to be denied, in which she asked that her son be released from criminal responsibility.

There was another mother who came to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court to plead for her son and herself. This was not the first time that her son had been on trial for using and trading in narcotics, and this time the sentence was longer. The woman did not question her son's guilt nor the justice of the sentence. This time the mother herself was on trial.

From the place of his incarceration the 22-year-old son tearfully described his unhappy situation, and hinted that his lot might improve if he could get some narcotics. Being a devoted mother, she immediately threw herself into fulfilling her son's desires. She sold some things and found some of her son's former friends who asked exorbitant prices. So she borrowed money from neighbors and went to the penal colony where her son was serving his sentence.

We won't dwell on everything she went through in an attempt to satisfy her son's need for narcotics. She even tried bribery. In the end she was arrested with the narcotics and wound up in court.

Now she is very contrite and promises that this will never happen again. I asked her to explain why she acted as she did, since she was aware that she was actually hurting her son. As in the previous case, the response was a long silence.

Why have I emphasized my meetings with mothers so much? Because so much depends on them and they are the first to become aware of problems and are in a position to seek help from teachers, physicians and even the militia if need be. Unfortunately, too many parents keep silent and treat substance abuse lightly until it is too late. And then they suffer the pangs of guilt.

I can remember when I was a young man. I finished school and even as a young adult I never even heard the expression 'drug abuse'. I learned about such matters when I studied criminal law. Even when I started working in a court such cases did not come up.

What happened later? Is this a fad or a true phenomenon? Probably neither. Drug abuse proceeds from indolence and an easy life style for which one has to pay dearly. It must also be admitted that when the problem first appeared preventive measures were weak and the law was neglected.

Even today not everything is being done that could be done. The antinarcotic propaganda is weak, as before. The major burden for combating drug abuse has been shifted on the judicial system. The family, school, and workers' collectives become activated only when prodded with information supplied by the militia. But on their own? They seem to be totally unaware of what is going on!

A serious look has to be taken at the agroindustrial establishments. Despite criticism in the press and prodding from the law enforcement organs nothing meaningful has been done about controlling the cultivation of marihuana and poppies at the collective and state farms, as well as on private plots. Yet that is where the users and the pushers get their raw drugs.

There is need for resolute measures to be taken against both the users and the dealers. Here there is no room for mercy because of the serious nature of the consequences.

The courts have received instructions to be severe in dealing with individuals involved with substances of abuse, both users and dealers. In this situation the villagers can be of special help. Every villager knows who grows these dangerous crops and to whom they are sold. Such activities should be strictly monitored. If we cannot control this problem we will never be able to fully

reverse the trends to substance abuse.

Coming back to Pudla, the question is whether I should recommend a pardon. Having taken all the facts into consideration it is obvious that the sentence has to stand as is.

One can only hope that a similar sentence can be meted out to the phenomenon of substance abuse itself.

12172

CSO: 1811/017

SOCIAL ISSUES

LiSSR MVD OFFICIAL DESCRIBES FIGHT AGAINST DRUG ABUSE

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 May 87 p 2

[Interview with LiSSR MVD Investigation Directorate Chief, Militia Lt Col Yustinas Vasilyauskas: "An Insidious Intoxicant"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] With increasing frequency the editors are encountering letters from persons expressing their concern on problems associated with overcoming narcotics addiction. Various questions are cropping up: How can this dangerous wave be stopped? Who should be occupied with this? What can the law do in the struggle with this evil? And how fully are the laws utilized by the law-enforcement authorities?

Responding at the request of the editors to these and other questions is Militia Lt Col Yustinas Vasilyauskas, chief of the Investigation Directorate of the Lithuanian SSR MVD.

[Answer] From a legal point of view, the struggle with narcotics addiction is a more complex problem than the struggle with such widespread phenomena as drunkenness and alcoholism. For example, whereas the law considers a drunkard a violator of public order under certain circumstances--that is, the consumption of alcohol in certain situations is considered an illegal act--the use of narcotic substances (either from vegetable sources or of medicinal origins) does not come under the category of lawbreaking.

Statutes 232 -232 of the Criminal Code stipulate penalties for illegal preparation, acquisition, storage, shipment, mailing, sale or theft of narcotic substances; for sowing or cultivating forbidden crops which contain such substances; and for organizing or maintaining dens for the use of narcotics; or for a tendency to such occupations, and so on. But there is not one word on sanctions against the actual user of such intoxicants. Certainly it's true that there is every reason to assume that in the very near future our criminal legislation will provide for such sanctions.

And so for the time being we approach a narcotics addict not as a criminal, but as a sick person, who is chiefly in need of administrative, moral-psychological and medical treatment.

Thus are forged the links of a single chain: someone produces this poison; someone distributes it; and someone uses it. Those who participate in these activities as a rule form narrow, deeply conspiratorial groups, connected

with one another through intermediaries. A characteristic feature of the problem is that if you seize one of the links, it's highly unlikely that you'll be able to pull in the entire chain.

[Question] But having broken the chain, even in only one place, can you not paralyze the operation of the entire criminal mechanism, and then go out after the other links?

[Answer] That is just the tactic that we adhere to. A special service has been created in the republic for the struggle with drug addiction, and a specific plan for this struggle has been developed and is being carried out. From year to year there is an increasing number of criminal cases instituted on instances of illegal preparation, acquisition, storage and sale of narcotic, extremely potent, or poisonous substances. The criminal situation in this respect is most complex in the major cities of the republic, as well as in Kayshyadoris, Varena, Kedaynyay, Kupishkis, Utena, and Ignalina.

A criminal group exposed and tried in Druskininkay for preparation of narcotics included R. Akstinas, a cloakroom attendant at the Nyamunas Sanitorium; A. Savichyus, a freight handler in city trade; D. Milyauskas, a bakery worker; and R. Grechnas, who was unemployed.

Not long ago the People's Court in Ignalinskiy Rayon imposed severe punishment on V. Budryavichena, A. Ovchinnikov, A. Abramenko, V. Krutikov, and V. Kurnosov, who had been previously indicted, for preparation, possession and sale of narcotic substances and for maintaining a den for their use. Each of these persons will be remanded to mandatory treatment for narcotics addiction. Investigation is being completed on a number of criminal cases connected with violation of anti-drug addiction legislation.

[Question] What does the group social portrait, so to speak, of today's drug addicts look like?

[Answer] Crime statistics on cases of persons being brought to justice for violation of laws against drug addiction say that the majority of the addicts are, strange as it may seem, workers. Violators among the student population, including adolescents, are relatively numerous, and comprise about 11 percent. And one-fourth is comprised of women. These are alarming statistics! Nor can one help but be alarmed by the fact that the basic raw materials for production of narcotics (both from natural and synthetic sources) are acquired--not from outside the republic as many mistakenly believe--right here in our midst. Numerous thefts occur at medical facilities or pharmacies, and from storehouses of highly potent medications which contain narcotics.

S. Kotova, a wrapping clerk at a pharmaceutical storehouse of the Ministry of Health, was arrested for theft of a package with such medications. And N. Dvarvichena was sentenced to 9 years incarceration and confiscation of her possessions for trading in preparations pilfered at the Sanitas factory in Kaunas. A. Shablinskene and R. Buyvidas, also of Kaunas, were prosecuted to the full extent of the law for using forged and stolen prescriptions over a period of years to acquire narcotics-bearing substances at pharmacies, and then reselling them for fabulous prices.

[Question] The social danger of drug addiction no doubt lies in the fact that for its "prisoners" it paves the way to grevious crimes, does it not?

[Answer] Just so. Drug addiction is a disease, but it makes a person a danger to society. By his way of life and behavior and his illegal activities with narcotics, he becomes a genuine threat to the health and wellbeing of those around him, and above all, to the young people. A drug addict voluntarily puts himself in a socially-dangerous condition. Militia officials have repeatedly noted that in the region where a drug addict appears a group of weak-willed followers of poor character begins to form. The misfortune grows like a snowball rolling down a slope. Typically, only a very few are able to escape this maelstrom on their own. In consideration of the special danger of the spread of drug addiction among adolescents, last year appropriate changes and supplements were introduced to a number of the republic's legislative acts.

What must be done to prevent this evil thing from encroaching further? First of all, law enforcement authorities, the medical profession, society, working collectives, the Komsomol, the family and the schools must consolidate their forces. Greater publicity must be given both to the discovery of the foul-smelling nests of drug addicts and to the measures taken to root them out. The shameful and unprincipled downplaying of the facts of the spread of narcotics addiction in the country, which has taken root over the decades, has cost our society dearly.

The practice of anonymous treatment of drug addicts has become a controversial question, for which there is no simple answer. However, it is beyond doubt that this method of ridding society of a dangerous intoxicant must also be used. In Vilnius, for example, special health-care establishments which provide such treatments already exist, at 37/59 Kauno St and at 33 Maxim Gorkiy St. Let the forms and methods of these medical services be improved and developed: I am convinced that good will come of it.

New specialised institutions for treatment of juvenile drug addicts have also appeared--treatment and drug prevention clinics.

But as far as the militia organs are concerned, a great deal of work remains to be done in conjunction with the medical authorities, in order to disclose and make a record of all persons observed to have a predilection for drug addiction and toxic substance abuse. One can still hope for better performance in the work of our investigative staff on exposing the complete chain of crimes linked to drug addiction. Of course, the participating militia inspectors, specialized people's voluntary militia members, and Komsomol operational detachments have a special role in the struggle with drug addition.

Rooting out the dangerous passion for narcotics is an extremely urgent, responsible and humane task. Victory in the struggle with this evil depends upon the entire aggregate of all-encompassing measures of legal, administrative, managerial, and educational influences.

9006

CSO: 1800/631

SOCIAL ISSUES

GEORGIAN PUBLIC OPINION INSTITUTE PUBLICIZES DRUG PROBLEMS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Feb 87 p 2

[Statement by members of the Georgian SSR Institute of Public Opinion:  
"The Duty of Each One of Us--An Appeal to the Community of the Republic by  
the Georgian SSR Public Opinion Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Our republic has achieved considerable success on the social and economic fronts, and the world applauds the achievements of its culture. Salutations and praise go to our laborers and farm workers, our engineers and scientists, our cultural figures and glorious young people.

The ongoing process of improving the moral and psychological climate in the republic as well as the intensified fight to strengthen discipline and order everywhere and in every respect throughout the country must also be noted. Young people have actively joined in this fight, bringing their best qualities to the fore--unwavering integrity, industriousness, strength of will and reason, and broad erudition.

But we must say what needs to be said--silence will only serve to increase the danger. This danger does exist and is formidable; for initially imperceptible viruses have spawned a social evil that goes by the name of drug addition. It is a disease which is posing a serious threat to the prosperity, physical health, and moral fabric of the present and future generations of our people.

It has been known in Georgia from time immemorial that a person "stupefied by opium" loses all semblance of humanity. Why is it, then, that we are today willing to live alongside people who are slaves to this deadly addiction? Have we forgotten who they are, these people who have lost every semblance of humanity, or do we no longer think of them as human beings? They frequently turn into hardened criminals who are willing to sacrifice the lives of others, the honor and lives of their parents, family, children and friends for a fix. There remains nothing sacred, moral or human in these individuals afflicted with this pernicious passion and a complete lack of will.

The use of narcotics usually begins out of teenage curiosity. But the main factor here still remains the warped state of mind of the addicts who are corrupting our youth. Under their influence, young people get caught in a vicious trap, becoming slaves to the drug as a result. And prices for drugs are constantly going up on the "black market." This is why most drug addicts turn into criminals and form criminal groups. And they are not above stealing, robbing and encroaching on the lives of strangers to get the money they need for their poison. Suicides are also not uncommon among these individuals.

Party, soviet and law enforcement agencies have declared an all-out war against drug addiction. But there can be no decisive victory in this battle as long as it does not include the broadest layers of society: everyone who holds dear the honor and dignity of our people and the fate of the new generation--in short, the very future of our society.

All attention, efforts and knowledge must be directed at eradicating this ruinous trend, which is striking certain segments of our young people, and at giving them the proper social orientation by making them aware of the false values that are stunting their intellectual and moral development.

Examples of such spiritual devastation may usually be found in families where morals are in total disarray, and where adults, seeking to further their own mercenary interests, turn their own life into one big chase after prestigious material well-being Western-style, frequently with the help of unearned income. Let us therefore take another look at our way of life and remove all the conditions which might push children over the edge. Let us rethink our conception of the word "prestige". Do our children really need excessive "comfort", the parental guardians not knowing when to say no? Is it not on this shaky ground of "blind" parental love that dependence, sponging and over-permissiveness later take root among a certain portion of the young? It is precisely these moral ambiguities which lead to moral degradation and lack of discipline, and from which drug addiction is just around the corner.

We cannot continue to ignore the fact that the number of drug addicts among women has been on the rise in Georgia recently as well, and babies crippled by the poison of their parents--drugs--are being born into this world.

Personalities, past services and the social situation aside, we all must assume responsibility for the situation that has developed before the country and government. Who is to blame? All of us are!

This is why we are publicly turning to you, all the inhabitants of Georgia, on behalf of the parents mired in this misery and the young people whose futures are being taken away from them.

We turn to you, our women--wives and mothers, sisters and grandmothers. Remember that the gentle words of a woman and a virtuous example represent the kind of human strength that can save our young people from terrible disaster.

Dear Compatriots!

Our common family and future are today in need of protection against the ruinous impact of drug addition! Turning back this scourge is the responsibility of all of us!

[Signed:]

Eteri Solomoniya, Hero of Socialist Labor, director of the Tbilisi Vocational and Technical School No. 36; Guram Metonidze, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, foreman of the electrical installers of the Tbilisi production conglomerate Elektrovozostroitel; Arsen Golidzhashvili, Hero of Socialist Labor, foreman of the Berbuksk fruit-and-vegetable state farm of Goriyskiy Rayon; Irakli Abashidze, poet and academician; Chabua Amiredzhibi, writer; Vakhtang Beridze, academician; Nodar Amaglobeli, dean of Tblisi State University, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR; Tamaz Gamkrelidze, director of the Institute of Eastern Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR, academician; Armaz Saneblidze, chairman of the State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting of Georgia; Viktor Saneev, three-time champion of the Olympic Games; Robert Sturua, chief producer of the Theater imeni Sh. Rustaveli; Bagrat Tekhov, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, director of the South Osetian Institute of Scientific Research, Doctor of Historical Sciences; Irakli Tsitsishvili, Hero of the Soviet Union; Eldar Shengelaya, first secretary of the Governing Board of the Union of Cinematographers of Georgia; Tamaz Shabgulidze, deputy director of the Institute of Economics and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR, professor; Zaur Avidzba, dean of the Abkhaz State University.

13287/12851  
CSO: 1830/520

SOCIAL ISSUES

THEFTS OF CARS, PERSONAL PROPERTY IN LATVIA CAUSE CONCERN

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 31 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by N. Ryzhnikov, director of the Latvian SSR MVD Criminal Investigation Administration: "...Not Only the Militia..."]

[Text] Apartment burglaries and vehicle theft remain widespread crimes in the our republic. While it is true that in the last year the incidence of crime went down somewhat, this cannot lull us into a complacent mood. It must be frankly recognized that in many areas, the efforts of the militia in preventing and discovering such crimes have not been sufficiently effective and have given rise to justifiable complaints of the victims. On the other hand, it should be said that the plans of many criminals would be frustrated if we received more help from citizens. What type of help do we expect? When criminals, as uninvited guests, gain access to someone else's apartment, they frequently do not work anywhere and are living without permits. Yet yard-keepers, ZER [housing-operations district] workers, activists at public law enforcement stations, and finally, neighbors, do not report them to the militia, displaying complete indifference.

Almost one in five apartment burglaries in Riga is perpetrated, using the language of lawyers, "in trust". Landlords carelessly admit unknown persons into an apartment, then often indulge in heavy drinking with them. Here is a typical example.

A young Rigan met two women on an electric train invited them home as guests. Of course, alcohol was also involved. A "friendly" drink ended with the "guests" beating the apartment landlord and escaping, after seizing valuables. The victim appealed to the militia, but he could not clearly identify anyone, because he was so heavily inebriated. This impeded the rapid initiation of any search for the criminals, and made the investigation difficult. Isn't an investigation easier when dealing with a hot trail?

Recently there was further example. Thieves got into the apartment of Ms. O. and locked the landlady in one of the rooms. The woman did not panic, and managed to get out of the building and over to neighbors where she called the militia. The criminals were arrested when a detachment of militia arrived. They turned out to be residents of Azov, who had already committed several apartment burglaries in our republic.

But the trouble is, the victims of apartment burglaries and vehicle thefts often fail to report the crimes until several hours, even days, after the event.

Unfortunately, everyone does not listen to our advice about not leaving apartment doors open, or putting keys under a rubber mat or in mailboxes and newspaper receptacles. Tempting valuables should not be left in the glove compartments of vehicles.

Apartment thieves often pass themselves off as city telephone system or gas workers, or they use advertisement supplements to the newspaper RIGAS BALSS, announcing, for example, apartment sharing. I do not mean that one should be suspicious of every such person, but one should not be too trusting, because such trust may often be costly.

Indifferent neighbors very much play into the hands of thieves. It often happens that people who have been living under the same roof for decades do not know one another. It is not surprising that thieves have the audacity to remove suitcases from apartments in the middle of the day with complete confidence. A stranger may hang around an automobile left in a private courtyard, and more often than not no one will pay any attention to him.

There would also be fewer burglaries if the thieves experienced some difficulty in selling the stolen goods. Yet they are able to find buyers without great effort. It is worth noting that the ranks of "wholesale" fences include quite a few trade workers.

Thus, a certain B. Dalle, a former trade worker presently not occupied in any socially useful labor, bought and sold stolen goods with the assistance of the entire group of workers at Store No. 18 of the Riga Sporting and Recreation Goods Association. Criminal proceedings were instituted against the manager of Store 25 of the Riga Recreation Goods Association who also acquired and sold illegal goods.

A worker in the Dzintars Production Association, V. Andreyev and her son Yu. Sedov, a sailor in the Riga-based trawler fleet, bought stolen gold items.

"Wholesale" fences sooner or later come under the scrutiny of the militia and are brought to account. It is more difficult to catch the one-time, random buyers, who cannot resist the temptation to acquire a scarce (defitsitnaya) item which is offered to them on a secluded corner. This is where we particularly need the help of citizens.

Some auto-mechanics also enter into deals with thieves. They play on the fact that there is an acute shortage of spare parts, which of course does not serve as a justification for such shady deals.

The ministry of internal affairs is adopting measures to improve the prevention of apartment burglaries and vehicle thefts. Citizens have the opportunity to set up security alarms in their apartments. To acquire this capability, one must simply apply to the extra-departmental protection section for the place

of residence. The demands on divisional militia inspectors and patrol-post service personnel have been increased.

For a long time we have been attempting to introduce a form of prevention which has been demonstrated to be effective in other republics, involving systematic rounds of homes and court-yards by the people's militia and the ZER [housing-operations district] workers. It should be an uncomplicated matter, but we have not yet received proper support from the DND [Voluntary People's Militia] and from housing-operations agencies. The time has come for the creation of a specialized people's militia, which would deal with the prevention of apartment burglaries and vehicle thefts in cooperation with divisional inspectors. And in this, much depends on the DND.

Last year the government of the republic instructed Gosstroy to introduce changes into the standard designs of dwellings, changes designed to increase the strength of entrance doors in entry ways and apartments.

In Riga, it is planned to construct parking places for 5,100 automobiles by 1990. At present we urgently recommend that the owners of vehicles who leave their cars and motorcycles outside their dwellings install anti-theft equipment on the vehicles.

Hence, when speaking about the assistance citizens may give to the militia agencies, we are primarily talking about strengthening the prevention of burglaries. It is not necessary to bring disaster upon oneself through carelessness. One should not, through excessive trustfulness, improper behavior and indifference create conditions which facilitate crimes and often provoke them.

While this does not relieve law enforcement agencies of responsibility, it should once more be emphasized that the struggle against apartment burglaries and vehicle thefts is not only a militia concern, but a common one, of interest to all citizens. And one must fight against such an evil, as the saying goes, all down the line.

13376  
CSO: 1800/588

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA EXAMINES KAZAKH HOUSING ABUSES

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 87 p 11

[Report by Aleksandr Samoylenko, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA'S own correspondent for the Kazakh SSR, under the rubric "Facts, Problems and Judgments": "Justice for All: Declared Invalid"; first two paragraphs are introductory]

[Text] Without any reason , 1,734 persons were standing in lines at the rayispolkom to obtain apartments in Alma-Ata. They were all ejected from the lines.

More than 50 officials were relieved of their posts and received strict penalties from the party for violations permitted in the allocation of housing.

When I began reading the letter from Alma-Ata resident L. Volkova, I thought that it was an ordinary complaint about an apartment. But it turned out that it did not concern help to obtain housing. She asked if a reinforced concrete bridge could be erected over the roof of her house...

The bridge was thrown over the utility lines of the Alma-Ata II railroad terminal to its backyard, where a tract of small private houses, referred to as "Shanghai" among the people, is squeezed in. Underneath the very end of the bridge we suddenly discover "light-construction housing," as they write in clerical documents. This is strange housing. The house grew into the ground on the very shoulder of the railroad bed. Water trickles underneath it from the embankment (at one time a pipe had ruptured, and it looks like for good). The house has stove heating--one stove for three tiny rooms, used until 1954 by employees of the Alma-Ata Railroad. There is a cold water faucet, but there hasn't been any water itself for 6 months now--no one can explain why. Out the window, the rolling stock rumbles along the switching tracks. The dispatchers are calling out in sharp voices: "Masha, close the second one!" - "You there, that's the place to make up the train!" - "Is that the way they are being washed?! All right, send the cleaning workers to wash them! Listen, wash them!.."

And it's that way day and night. Months. Years... Nevertheless, there is not one supervisor in Alma-Ata today who would consider that the Volkov family is living poorly. Cleverly, the house is not considered broken down, each

member of the family has 6 meters apiece, and so it is "in turn." And that is only because the vibration, the decibels, the decay... Larisa Viktorovna understands this and is patiently waiting when her 30th turn will come--in accordance with her job at the Ministry of Grain Products of the Kazakh SSR.

But at the time that L. Volkova was writing to the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondents center, more pleasant events were taking place at the opposite end of the city. New houses were being occupied by employees of the Kazstroybank [Kazakh SSR Bank for Financing Capital Investments], the republic's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, Ministry of Finance, and State Committee for Material and Technical Supply... The Volkova family had no right to live in a house for the Kazstroybank, let us say. As the employees of this bank, K. Tsay, P. Yurovskiy, R. Kosbergenova, S. Sadykov, S. Rakhatov, and N. Ungarova did, incidentally...

We know the conditions in which the Volkovs are living. But here the family of P. Yurovskiy, assistant manager of the bank (four persons, the same as in Larisa Viktorovna's family) had been living in a comfortable three-room apartment of 35 square meters (with a bathroom, hot water and no locomotives), but just the same, they suddenly acquired a new one--with 53 square meters. In what connection was such improvement in good conditions made? "In connection with getting closer to the workplace," if you please.

Just how many persons in Alma-Ata have acquired apartments by violating housing legislation? No one has an exact figure at present, but hundreds of apartments authorized with flagrant violations of established procedure have been revealed in spot checks. In a meeting with a group of the republic's residents who had requested that they be provided with housing, G. V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, said that many management employees had illegally obtained housing not only for themselves, but for their relatives as well. "We are waging an uncompromising struggle against such abuses," he stressed. "The apartments acquired through influence will be confiscated. Employees of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the party gorkom and the city soviet of Alma-Ata who have permitted these violations have already received well-deserved punishment... In spite of such an instructive lesson, those among us who like to live well at someone else's expense have not become extinct. Having comfortable apartments, they seek to obtain additional living space by fair means or foul, although they are well aware that their ambitions can be satisfied only by moving those who are legally in turn even farther away. We will not tolerate this. We are already giving and will continue to give a decisive rebuff to such self-seekers and we don't intend to stop halfway."

Immediately after the December plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in Alma-Ata (they began first from the capital), housecleaning [ochistitelnaya rabota] was begun, without regard for the persons and ranks, to strengthen social justice. Not everyone is interpreting the processes natural for restructuring properly, however. Welcoming the new social improvements in words, they are really grumbling and looking at what is taking place with resentment. What do they resent? There is nothing illegal in this work! The struggle against abuses is the point. Including in housing matters--the most critical social problem of our life. After all, until very

recently it was as if two sets of housing legislation were in force in Alma-Ata. One of them, which everyone knows about, is authentic. This is for those who honor justice. The other one has no legal basis and does not exist in a document as such, but this does not hinder it from being a guide to action.

Under the secret legislation you may secretly acquire a new apartment if you have a "high story," are "far from work" (as if you had to get there by streetcar), have a "panel-construction house" or "grownup children." The crown of such "arguments" is the wording "clean air has been recommended" (!).

It seemed to me that I already knew more or less how matters stood in the republic with respect to adherence to housing legislation. But I realized what the true situation was at just a recent meeting of the republic aktiv. It turns out that there are 520,000 families on the register for housing in Kazakhstan. At the same time, this is a minimum figure which does not take into account the rural residents and those living in poverty in dilapidated, broken-down houses.

The impression is that no one ever has taken them into account. They were moving ahead with their head turned backward. The publicity figure has stood out in reports--there are 14 million square meters of available housing in Alma-Ata, that is, 13 meters for each resident in the capital! But the lines have been growing at a precarious rate, and I have included in them only the ones who have less than 6 meters each...

Now the "Housing-91" program, the aim of which is to provide housing for all city families who were standing in line on 1 January 1987, has asserted itself. The work in prospect is desperate, but there is no other way out. If they build at previous rates, those now standing in line will receive housing in 10 to 12 years. It is not enough to build--we must still allocate apartments honestly, according to the law, as well!

In the 11th Five-Year Plan, 80 percent of the housing in Alma-Ata was allocated out of turn. It was known as far back as the end of 1985 that only 11,700 square meters, or 1 percent of the housing space introduced, was aimed at meeting the needs of those waiting their turn in the capital. It was well known, but no one made up his mind to be horrified and especially to take steps appropriate for the scope of the illegal action.

Housing allocation will be put in order, of course, and at least a start has been made. But after attending a reception by the present chairman of the gorispolkom, Z. Nurkadilov, I thought about the fact that violation of housing legislation is not the worst evil.

K. M-v filled up the table in front of the chairman with papers and took a handkerchief out of his pocket, giving us to understand that we was going to cry now. What was he asking for? He, his wife and brother are living in a comfortable two-room apartment. But living with his brother had become unbearable lately (they quarreled), and he must be given a separate apartment because of this.

"I cannot," the chairman says. "Did you really elect me so that I would engage in unlawful activity?"

"That's demagogy! What kind of a lecture are you giving!" The visitor was so infuriated that he switched to the familiar form for "you." "You won't give me an apartment, and I will write about you! I will write that you don't respect people! Give it to me!"

M. K-va stands in the special line for her place of work. But she doesn't want to wait; the chairman is an important official, and if he wants, it doesn't cost him anything to provide an apartment. After all, his predecessor gave them out right and left, and the whole city knows about this... The applicant is demonstratively shedding bitter tears, playing her final trump card for Nurkadilov. Out of the corner of my eye I see the text on the deputy's form... The chairman calms K-va, saying that the deputies in the city soviet respect you, but not to the point that they will violate the law.

Nurkadilov receives a great many such requests--written and verbal. As a rule, they come from those who perceive the position of deputy as a commanding post which provides the opportunity to send out directives on the allocation of apartments, the sale of motor vehicles, the assignment of pensions... They don't trouble themselves with knowledge of the laws (which they vote for at sessions) and do not think that they are putting a colleague in the republic's supreme soviet in an awkward, ambiguous situation.

What else is behind this? The chairman of the ispolkom believes that the reception for personal matters today is not simply a review of private problems, but lessons in the law as well. There it is, the worst result of lawlessness--depreciation of the relationship to the standards of social justice, toward their organ of people's deputies.

The chairman received 12 persons that day and 10 in the next reception. It is remarkable, but none of the visitors had justification to demand priority solution of their apartment problems; nevertheless, they all left infuriated by a denial. What a dismal metamorphosis! Cursing the lawlessness and lack of social justice yesterday, a great many persons today, when order is being maintained, do not want to solve their personal problems in accordance with the law (and often cannot, either). Welcoming the order in general, they are resorting to stratagems and any subterfuge here. They register themselves as "dead souls" and manage to get sickness certificates to get into a preferential line. One of the residents of Alma-Ata, after deciding to obtain an apartment under the "children of different sexes" article in the law, drew up a certificate on the birth of a son which he didn't have.

A great many persons, it turns out, must learn personal responsibility for general order and observance of obligations to society. Who is to blame for the lack of collectivist psychology and morality? Primarily those who have put the ispolkom in the position of executors of their personal will. Many records naming persons who have acquired apartments illegally have made their appearance in Alma-Ata today after strict and exacting checks. There is a "who authorized" paragraph in those records. The surname of the first deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, B. V. Meshcheryakov, often appears in it. He is

being criticized recklessly and heatedly now. And at the same time, dozens of persons speak highly of Boris Vasilyevich's businesslike and moral qualities. What kind of strange ambiguity is this: a good manager and a violator of housing legislation?

I am not making up my mind to establish Meshcheryakov's purely personal blame for the practice of allocating housing which has existed, but I believe we blame some "convenient" person for everything too much with complete unconcern. Under the new circumstances it would be correct (socially just!) to fill out the "who authorized" paragraph all over again. And then those who applied pressure to the city soviet with their immense power: "Please authorize!" will appear in it. Go to the author of such a visa and explain the illegality of the instruction? Boris Vasilyevich tried once. When they found out the purpose of the visit, they did not even receive him...

It has become easier to work now. Boris Vasilyevich mentioned several times with unconcealed relief that the flow of visas with the instruction "Authorize in favor!" has dried up, as if it had been cut short. The telephone in Nurkadilov's and Meshcheryakov's offices also is silent. They ring, of course, but mum's the word on apartments...

For many managers, the most prestigious occupation is giving out apartments in the building built by "their" department. They state publicly what a thankless job this is and how difficult it is for them to refuse someone. In reality, the allocation of apartments is their hour of triumph. "All right, I'll give you an apartment!" Or "I think I'll let him wait some more!" Familiar management replies, aren't they?

Their authors cover "their" building, as befits a proprietor, with departmental thinking, especially in accordance with their personal discretion. The ispolkoms, seeing the character of a strong-willed manager behind the documents and discovering a proper visa in the papers, hastily sign the "ispolkom authorization."

When the hour of triumph is replaced by "the burden of responsibility," everyone begins to rush about and to find out who is to blame more and who is to blame less. But everyone is at fault. Including the office of the public prosecutor. Its employees are not obliged to check the legality of every authorization, of course, but after all, the city prosecutor's office is filing complaints speedily now, and it could not help but see and realize the true extent of lawlessness yesterday.

Complaints have been filed for 64 of the ispolkom decisions, but this in no way means that all the remaining apartments were allocated in full conformity with the housing code. I don't know whether the number of complaints will increase or whether this form of intervention will remain a preventive measure, but 64 complaints at once for a city such as Alma-Ata is an event, a perceptible injection, of respect for the law. However, the law is not what is frightening them, but the standard of living. And a complaint acquires full legal and sociopolitical meaning only after it is implemented. That is, 50 persons (50 of the 64 complaints were satisfied) must leave their illegally acquired apartments either voluntarily or by court order. At present, the KPD

[efficiency factor] of the complaints filed is as follows: two tenants allegedly left voluntarily, one wrote a statement that he will turn it over and return to a cooperative apartment, and one complaint was backed (also allegedly) by a court order. But what about the others?

Most of the complaints--28--went to the Sovetskiy Rayon ispolkom. Naturally, the central rayon of the city, where almost every building was "under inspection." Ispolkom Chairman A. N. Akulenko has been working for a little over a year. Without procrastinating, he convened an ispolkom meeting and 22 complaints were satisfied right here. And that is all. Undisguised sabotage was begun.

The departments do not want to rectify the errors and see no harm in the fact that their employees changed their place of residence for the reason of "moving closer to their place of work" (at the same time, they have been thoroughly "spread out"). Some simply remain silent, waiting to see what the rayispolkom will do. Others are playing the fool: they send materials to the courts without indicating the apartments where people must be evicted. And the Ministry of Finance, for example, wrote bluntly to the ispolkom in telegraphic style: we will not bring actions in the people's courts, and we don't believe that violations were permitted in allocating apartments in the new building. What an amusing situation: the public prosecutor's office and the ispolkom of the Soviet of People's Deputies (for the Ministry of Finance, there is reason to bear in mind that the ispolkom is none other than the Soviet state!) settle violations of the housing legislation, but the finance people "don't see" them. Moreover, so that the rayon soviet did not nourish any illusions, the minister, A. Ye. Batsula, made his personal ministerial complaint in a telephone conversation with the chairman: "We will not appeal to the court in this action. You signed our documents--you get out of it yourselves."

Akulenko looks at the red folder of complaints with undisguised depression, and the rayispolkom has no chance of putting a finish to the matter with its own powers.

Last year the ispolkom legalized 104 apartments for those waiting their turn, but the republic's departments built and "registered" about 2,000 apartments. The republic's Gossnab began allocating apartments in its next building--the ispolkom chairman on his own responsibility and at his own risk returned the documents for authorizations to the influential committee: put them in order all over again with a complaint from the prosecutor's office! The telephone in Akulenko's office rang off the hook immediately. What's the matter? Who had the audacity? Well, actually, the Gossnab, Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance--and some rayispolkom there!..

And it doesn't occur to anyone that the situation that has taken shape is extraordinary. There is a real fear that the complaints of the prosecutor's office and the decisions of the ispolkoms will wear out. And so the seamy housing legislation which they attempted to oppose will triumph and yesterday's concepts of morality and the standards of social justice "for us" and "for you" will remain.

The ispolkoms of Alma-Ata need a great deal of support today. The previous practice, when an organ of local authority was almost turned into an office for legalizing the instructions of higher officials, must be recognized as invalid once and for all. Restructuring should also become irreversible in this area.

8936  
CSO: 1830/541

IZVESTIYA CRITICIZES TURKMEN BUILDING PROGRAM

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by IZVESTIYA'S own correspondent in the Turkmen SSR, V. Kuleshov: "A Detached House on a Side Street: Why Personal Cottages Have Been Built in the Turkmen SSR When There Is a Critical Shortage of Hospitals, Housing and Nursery Schools"]

[Text] Turkmen SSR--M. Dzhumakulyev, the Turkmen SSR minister of construction, is satisfied in general with progress in the construction of nursery schools and housing. The situation with hospitals is worse, but more pressure may be applied. This is what he said at a meeting of the republic's council of ministers.

"But do you realize," they asked him, "that last year alone we failed to comply with 36,000 applications for nursery schools and children's nurseries? That there are more than 5,000 children waiting their turn in Ashkhabad alone?"

"What is to be done if we have neither the manpower nor the funds?" the minister asked with a helpless gesture.

We could believe the hopeless "poverty" of the Ministry of Construction, as well as other construction ministries in the republic, if we didn't know where the manpower and funds went now and then.

As long as 7 years ago, IZVESTIYA (No 19, January 1980) wrote about the alarming trend which had taken shape in the Turkmen SSR in the report "MILLIONS OF RUBLES FOR SAUNAS AND POOLS, but Construction of Nursery Schools, Children's Nurseries and Housing Is Being Disrupted." The newspaper's article was interpreted very negatively by republic organizations.

After receiving a formal reply, the newspaper (No 72, March 1980) published the editorial "MORE ON THE SAUNAS AND POOLS and How They Are Trying to Conceal the True State of Affairs in Housing and Cultural and General Construction in the Turkmen SSR." Only then was the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee

compelled, after discussing both articles, to admit that they were correct and to outline the steps necessary. But unfortunately, this response, as with certain others received from the republic's organs to critical articles in IZVESTIYA, incidentally, proved to be an empty formality in actual fact.

"The rates of housing construction in Tashauz have been decreasing for the past 5 years," writes V. Ivanov, fitters brigade leader in SMU-4 [Construction and Installation Administration No 4]. "Not one problem raised by us on improving the deliveries of materials and establishing normal conditions for stable work has been resolved by the oblast leadership. At the same time, personal detached houses were built rapidly without hindrance. Nearly every person who received a "management" post began his activity by building a personal cottage, but with state funds..."

Before my eyes, the head of the "Kolosok" Nursery School No 10, M. Kurkina, flatly refused mothers who had begged her to just put their children in turn. "There are no vacancies and don't expect them: they have been filled above all the norms..."

"And it's this way all the time," complained Mariya Sergeyevna. "And if you go to the gorono [city public education department] to talk about your troubles, you only hear: wait, we have no manpower or funds at present... But when are they going to be available? Why are there enough of these same funds for the authorities' detached houses and none for nursery schools?"

The center of Tashauz is mottled like a honeycomb with sturdy brick fences which enclose the buildings of spacious detached houses. Luxurious and flashy, with pretentious decorations and inconceivable patterns on the fronts and with vineyards and orchards and various outbuildings.

Who is living in them? Basically the former oblast leaders. At No 32 Marx Street, the former obkom first secretary, Atayev. At No 65 Pushkin Street, the former obkom secretary for industry, Lomov. And at No 22 Nekrasov Street, the former obkom secretary for ideology, Shamuratov.

Those with money [bakhshi] visit there for hours  
And the place overflows with the well-off.  
State "Volgas" come there in the night.  
If you don't knock at the door  
In connivance and haughtiness,  
The conceit of command [komchvanstvo] shoots through  
Like a malicious creeping weed...

I read these lines in TASHAUZSKAYA PRAVDA. They were published on the eve of the party obkom's plenum which discussed the flagrant violations of party and state discipline in the oblast. The newspaper was in great demand among the plenum participants, and not because of the verse's artistic merits. The meaning, not the style, is important here! But unfortunately, its author--the editor of TASHAUZSKAYA PRAVDA, M. Karpenko--encountered another reaction when he arrived in Ashkhabad for a conference of republic newspaper employees.

"Stand up and explain why you published this verse in your newspaper," M. Mollayeva, Turkmen Communist Party secretary in charge of ideology, ordered. "Don't you understand how indiscreet all this is?"

The poor editor of TASHAUZSKAYA PRAVDA, M. Karpenko, who is a member of the Union of Writers of the USSR respected by everyone, was so bewildered that he couldn't utter a word. He didn't know where to disappear to because of the shame and mortification. Having given over 30 years of his life to the party press, the communist claimed that it was his verse and it was directed precisely against indiscretion.

Quite recently the republic's Supreme Court sentenced the former first secretary of the Ilyalinskiy Rayon party committee, Khalov, to 15 years in prison for distorting results achieved, bribery and misappropriation. This was the same person whom the Tashauz obkom bureau had reprimanded 3 years ago "for allowing shortcomings expressed in a display of indiscretion," and this was entered in his record.

But what had happened? Khalov, who was living in a spacious detached house himself, had "arranged" apartments over 100 meters in area in Tashauz, first for a daughter and son-in-law and then for another daughter. And when the bureau attempted to charge him with the indiscretion, Khalov replied, not a bit embarrassed: "But why am I worse than the others? Didn't Mollayev himself, after leaving Tashauz as first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon party committee, give his seven-room apartment to his son? And who is living in the detached house of our former obispolkom chairman, Balla Yazkuliye? Aren't they his relatives?"

"Two privileged settlements were formed with 300 detached houses built in circumvention of existing rules, one on Pushkin Street and the other over the canal on the road to the airport," S. Grigoryeva writes in IZVESTIYA. "Isn't this a disgrace for the communist managers? And where are the local authorities looking? Why don't they take these buildings that were handed out contrary to established procedure and give them to the children for nursery schools as well as the mothers with many children? That's what would be just and honest!"

I referred this question to N. Tangirbergenova, chairman of the Tashauz Gorispolkom.

"But the masters of these houses don't want to hear about this," she responded. "We even picked out dozens of apartments in a new building for exchange--good and comfortable ones, but they won't go. They say there is no law to evict persons from their residence..."

True, there is no such law yet. But isn't one needed in the case mentioned? After all, they don't plan to evict someone in Tashauz if an apartment was given to them in accordance with established procedure. But the ispolkom has the right to consider an authorization invalid if, as stated in the housing code of the Turkmen SSR, "illegal actions by officials in resolving the problem of providing housing accommodations" were permitted and if the procedure and conditions for allocating housing were violated. And there can

be no period for prescription in this case. N. Galaktionova, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Court, explained the essence of the matter to me precisely in this way.

"But in Tashauz," N. Tangirbergenova noted in our discussion, "in my view, authorizations were given outside of any rules for half of the owners of detached houses, for Ilyushkin, the second secretary of the obkom, or for Shamuratov himself, for example."

When Utabaya Shamuratov was elected chairman of the Tashauz Oblispolkom, He was in no hurry to move his family from Tezebazar, where he had worked until then as secretary of the party raykom. He didn't hurry to settle in one of the comfortable apartments in the new microrayon. Why fuss if the Tashauzvodstroy management was given an order to prepare something a little more respectable than an ordinary apartment for the new manager. Some time later, when they invited him to look at the detached house at No 22 Nekrasov Street, Shamuratov said: "It will do, but I'll take a look there." "It will do" is not the word. The house couldn't be better--a bright, spacious living room, several bedrooms for family members, and a comfortable study for the head of the house. In any case, five persons in an area of over 100 square meters was where he was to be accommodated.

And here I hold in my hand authorization No 535, written by Utabaya Shamuratov on 22 July 1977.

"On what grounds could such a document have been issued?" I asked N. Tangirbergenova with interest.

"It is difficult to say," the gorispolkom chairman said, shrugging her shoulders. "There was no letter or application from the obispolkom on allocating an apartment, and there was no decision by the trade union committee of the organization where Shamuratov worked--there was none of this. There was only a record of the meeting of the trade union committee of the oblast irrigation networks administration on granting him this living space. But Shamuratov had no relationship to this administration. Clearly, the record was fiction, and the authorization was issued to circumvent procedure. Well, the question of eviction has to be brought up in court..."

"But perhaps certain exceptions to the common rules exist which define privileges for managers of such rank?" I asked in the legal department of the TuSSR Council of Ministers. "For the chairman of an obispolkom, just as for the heads of party organs at the oblast and republic level, the additional space should not exceed 10 meters," G. Amadurdyeva, the department head, told me.

"As a last resort, 14 meters," she added for some reason. But not 50 and not 40. As for A. Klychev, the former head of the obkom organization department; Ya. Berdyev, chairman of the oblast trade unions council; and K. Ovlyakuliyev, chairman of the people's control committee, the three are living in spacious houses of 80 square meters. In general, there is a detached house, regardless who the manager is. Three to five persons occupy them, as their own homes. And even when they are transferred, nothing is lost: they authorize a cottage

here for a relative. As an example, after leaving a large house In Kalinin and counting on the balance sheet of the rayon irrigation networks administration, A. Vopayev registered it to his mother, although the old woman was over 80, and he acquired a "little apartment" 109 square meters in area on Zapadnaya Street here in Tashauz.

"Why didn't you turn over the house in the rayon center?" I asked A. Vopayev.

"No one required it... But now I will go and turn it in..."

It is ridiculous to say: and just who in Tashauz could demand anything from the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom if he himself constantly demanded something from others.

But here are two authorizations before me. One was given for G. Gurbanov, the chairman of the Tashauz Oblispolkom in 1980. And the second one was for the same house at No 65 Pushkin Street already registered to Gurbanov's father, since he had gone to Ashkhabad in 1982. The father of the republic's former minister of agriculture is living in this house now--together with his wife in a space of 131 square meters...

What kind of law, it is asked, is needed to ensure that such lawlessness is eliminated? But habit makes itself known. Housing legislation has been violated for many years in Tashauz. They simply paid no heed to the law.

There are quite a few detached houses and cottages in Ashkhabad as well. They are like calling cards here. You come upon this spacious fortress-home behind a brick wall somewhere on a quiet side street and you realize immediately that administrators are living here. The same ones who never cease talking from high rostrums about honesty, civic conscience, justice, and the lack of other moral attributes. And just where will they be taken from, the question arises, if such "champions of justice" themselves are the very first ones to violate the law--the moral law of human conscience first of all.

But the owners of the detached houses are guided by other standards. Just arriving at a new post and viewing it as a set of privileges and benefits, they hurry first of all to see that cottages--spacious ones of special designs--are built for them at state expense. And that they are "a little more attractive" than those of their predecessors. So it is no coincidence that there are many negative manifestations in the republic's morality, which were mentioned at the last CPSU Central Committee Plenum. And especially as the many thousands on waiting lists for nursery schools and children's nurseries are no coincidence. And of course, it is only fair that this most acute social problem is resolved at the cost of those who contributed to its emergence.

8936

CSO: 1830/543

GEORGIAN WRITERS BLAMED FOR NOT DENOUNCING 'TYRANTS'

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 14, 3 April 1987 carries on page 9 under the rubric "Problems of Restructuring" Givi Alkhazishvili's 2,300-word essay "Silent Witnesses?..." concerning writers' and publicists' failure to speak out against "tyrants" and the evil they have done, both in past times and even now. The piece is in response to Nodar Tsuleiskiri's article titled "Tyrant," published [some months ago] in this same newspaper. That article dealt with petty and grand tyrants in all spheres and endeavors, including school teachers tyrannizing their pupils and husbands tyrannizing their wives and children, but the main emphasis in the original article--as here--is on those persons who, acceding to positions of power at some level or another, arrogate all authority to themselves, reject all criticism, oppress their underlings, and suppress the truth. Some passages sketch tyrannical teachers in school, while the bulk of the article focuses on tyranny in the literary and artistic fields. In all cases, these tyrants have done immeasurable harm to society and the individuals who make it up.

The author of the essay calls down blame upon himself and his colleagues, who "all those years" were perfectly aware of the evil around them, society's shortcomings, but "closed their eyes" and kept mum. By "putting a good face" and "upbeat interpretations" on everything in school textbooks, moreover, "we taught our children to lie, even as we had learned."

With reconstruction, now, a new "revolutionary spirit" is reflected in all-union publications--but, as yet, not in the Georgian press; "we still stick to generalities or simply keep quiet.... Are we waiting to receive the customary directive, the customary dictate?"

As a result, tyrants today are still trying to "take advantage of democratization" for their own ulterior purposes while "preaching democratization" the loudest. We must speak up!

Tsuleiskiri, the author of the original article, "said what we were thinking," namely that tyrants have been acting selfishly in the name of the people and the country. They must be unmasked, but for that "we need unanimity.... We can tell the truth and are doing so, but we are not empowered to change anything ourselves."

## MODESTY, OTHER VIRTUES 'DEVALUED' IN GEORGIAN SOCIETY

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 21 April 1987 carries on page 3 under the recently instituted rubric "The Ethical Sphere of Restructuring" [revised from original "The Ethical Component of Restructuring"] Doctor of Philosophy Vazha Gogoberidze's 1,200-word essay "Because We Are Men..." in which he examines the "devaluation" of "the virtues" [blagodeteli] in our society and what must be done to restore them. Too often, "we have ascribed people's character of virtue or vice to their class or social origin," which history proves is just not so. The specific virtue focused on in the article is modesty.

"Logical positivism" in bourgeois philosophy contends that logical difficulties make "a science of ethics" impossible. The difficulties are real, of course, but that does not justify the fact that "our VUZes have provided no ethical instruction for decades now." Marxist-Leninist ethics need to be mastered by the masses. The author then briefly paraphrases the medieval Georgian theologian-philosopher Ioane Petritsi's views on virtue in general ("hardly possible to define in words, only deeds") and modesty in particular.

The essence of the virtue of modesty is not good works alone but doing them in a way that is not boastful or "self-advertising," though to be sure (quoting Petritsi again), it is all right to let your works be known.

Two questions are raised: (a) Has "the devaluation of virtue" caused harm? (b) Can virtue be taught? The answer to the first one is that arrogance and high-handedness, especially on the part of "top men" [pervyye litsa] such as, for example, raykom first secretaries who claim all credit for progress and reject all criticism and advice, are the source of lies, duplicity, and evil, and have cost society greatly. The answer to the second is that it can and must be taught. If virtue were not valued, why would the Varlams among us [named for the central character in the film "Repentance"] hide behind the mask of virtue? The teaching of virtue must start with the tearing off of masks.

## ADJARIAN ANTI-NARCOTIC EFFORTS EXAMINED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 21 April 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "More Vigilance and Effort" M. Gorgiladze's 800-word article about successful anti-narcotic operations in Adjaria, backed up by "public opinion." It is stated succinctly that "various methods" are used.

Since no narcotics or materials for them are produced in Georgia, all of them have to be brought in. The doings of several individuals and the groups they are involved in are sketched and their apprehension described. Some of their liaisons were with criminals in Donetsk, Zhdanov, and Voronezh Oblast. Adjarian MVD personnel took part in joint raids outside the republic. In one of the cases described, a postal parcel was opened and found to contain opium (most of the episodes involved opium or the raw materials required--poppy heads).

The author of the article emphasizes more than once that it is not enough to catch the runners and dealers--it is essential to get to the source.

The adjarian MVD has lists of narcotics users, and it is mentioned that "mass treatment" of addicts has been instituted.

6854

CSO: 1813/411

REGIONAL ISSUES

LENINGRAD OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON INDIVIDUAL LABOR ACTIVITY

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 97 p 2

[Interview with Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Bukin, chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom Commission for Individual Labor Activity and deputy chairman of the Leningrad Council Ispolkom, by V. Kolesnikov, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text] The Law on Individual Labor Activity goes into effect on 1 May. Our correspondent is talking with G. A. Bukin, chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom Commission for Individual Labor Activity and deputy chairman of the Leningrad Council Ispolkom, on how they have prepared for this in Leningrad.

[Question] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, before the beginning of a new and important matter, it is customary to talk about its prospects and how it will be further developed. However, it is now necessary to talk about the organizational work experience that has been accumulated in Leningrad which should help to organize individual labor activity more accurately and effectively in the future.

[Answer] Of course. You see, we began this work early. I recall that the first cooperatives for serving our population were established on the basis of a special decision by the Leningrad Gorispolkom even before the adoption of the appropriate acts on a country-wide scale.

A commission, which engaged in organizational and coordination work to develop individual labor activity, was established in the Leningrad City Council Ispolkom at the beginning of February of this year. These commissions were established in all rayispolkoms. They review the applications of people, who have expressed a desire to engage in individual labor activity; meet with them; and solve the most varied questions. It appears that this is being done rather competently: You see, the city and rayon commissions include the directors of financial, supply and law enforcement agencies; consumer services; trade; public catering; and educational, health protection and USSR Gosbank administrations and organizations.

[Question] It is evident that the development of individual labor activity should not be spontaneous. The direction of this process is also a duty of the commission?

[Answer] Without a doubt. The cooperatives, which are now being established, and the so-called handicraftsmen must work at the weakest points and provide those services and produce those consumer goods in which the shortage is especially noticeable. The interests of society are in first place. That is why we have not only brought to light those wishing to work in their free time but have also -- which is even more important -- determined the advisability of developing this or that type of service. They are performing this work well in the city's Pushkinskiy, Kuybyshevskiy, Frunzenskiy, and Kollinskiy rayons. The analysis material testifies that the population requires, most of all, help in repairing apartments, motor vehicles and footwear; laying out garden plots; constructing summer cottages; organizing public dining; etc. We are establishing cooperatives and granting permission for individual labor activity based on this. A total of 81 cooperatives have now been registered; five of them have already begun serving the population.

[Question] Can today's development rates for individual labor activity be considered satisfactory?

[Answer] We understand that one cannot hurry here. However, the way that this work is now being conducted cannot satisfy us. Conservatism, sluggishness in thinking and fears about "what if it does not turn out" are sensed in the activity of a number of rayon commissions and in the approach of the directors of some organizations toward the solution of questions.

[Question] Incidentally, the readers' letters to the editor testify to this. In particular, there is the following message: In the contract organization department of the Leningrad Housing Administration, they have rejected disabled veterans and pensioners when organizing a cooperative.

[Answer] They rejected them incorrectly. The law states that people, who are not primarily employed in public production, can be cooperative members. However, there is no ban on those who want to work after their work day. Thus, the comrades are playing it safe in this case although, generally speaking, it is necessary to try to see to it that a stream of workers from public production does not occur.

[Question] Judging from the letters to the editor, many problems are actually arising. They are often connected with the supplying of raw material and equipment to cooperatives.

[Answer] Well, this is clear to us. The enterprises, at which these cooperatives are established, must help the cooperatives to acquire raw material and equipment. I would like to direct your attention to the following trend: Some citizens have interpreted the law in a consumer way. They loudly demand: Give us one thing, another, a third -- and we will then conquer mountains. When talking with these people, we help them to view the task, which they have undertaken, realistically and to evaluate their strengths and capabilities sensibly. You see, work in a cooperative must be

very intensive. Not only professional skills but also organizational data and enterprise -- in the good meaning of this word -- are required here. One should mention that, after these discussions and explanations, some come to the conclusion that they have gathered together to undertake a task that is beyond their strength.

[Question] The task, so to speak, is not an easy one. I have already had occasion to hear complaints from Ya. V. Kopylovskiy, the head of the Polesye cafe. They gave him large premises and it is difficult for him to manage in them. You see, however, Kopylovskiy is a very experienced individual. Incidentally, is it correct that the cooperative cafe has such large premises? You see, Leningraders lack small, semi-house and cozy establishments.

[Answer] Let us not forget that this cafe was the first one; we are learning and we are searching for the optimum variants. Today, it is clear that the majority of cooperative cafes (and 21 of these cooperatives have already been registered) should be small and narrowly specialized. This is the way that we will expand the matter. A pastry cafe and a pancake cafe are already preparing to open. A children's cafe, where there will be many toys and video items, is of interest.

In solving the question about the organization of this or that cooperative and the granting of privileges to it, it is evident that one must approach each individual case in a different manner.

[Question] There is another negative item. It is unpleasant, but one must already talk about the monitoring of the quality of the cooperative's work that is required. I have in mind the Novosel cooperative. The newspaper wrote about its opening and about the services which it is providing. Soon, however, letters were received from Leningraders complaining about shortcomings in the work of the cooperative members and their lack of responsibility and refusal to perform inexpensive services. How does one influence cooperatives that are not conscientious?

[Answer] Here, the customer must primarily emerge as the strictest and most biased controller. Furthermore, the state enterprise, under which the cooperative has been established, must bear responsibility for its production. In the case cited by you, this is the consumer services administration of the Leningrad Gorispolkom. We will investigate Novosel -- and immediately.

[Question] Gennadiy Aleksandraovich, we are talking most about cooperatives. However, what is being done for those who have decided to work on their own.

[Answer] There are questions here also. For example, where can the handcraftsmen sell their items. I can answer: Primarily -- in the markets. In addition, three commission stores are being set aside for this purpose. We have recently decided to let them advertise in newspapers and on the radio.

[Question] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has approved changes in the tax laws in connection with the coming into effect of the Law on Individual Labor Activity, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has recently adopted a corresponding ukase on this. What has changed in the tax system?

[Answer] The Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase encourages citizens to engage in individual labor activity by lowering the amount of taxes on that income which is truly based on their labor. In particular, the concept of untaxed income is introduced. We are talking about income which is no more than 70 rubles a month. If a citizen receives an income of no more than 3,000 rubles a year (250 rubles a month), he pays the same amount of tax that a worker in a state enterprise pays. With incomes of from 3,000 to 6,000 rubles a year, the tax will grow but more smoothly than before -- from 20 to 50 percent. Several tax benefits are also being provided. But this is the subject of a special discussion with financial workers. Many questions, which are connected with material, technical and pension support and other matters, are also being firmed up. For an explanation of them, one can turn to our commissions in the rayispolkoms and financial agencies.

[Question] Generally speaking, there is now clarity regarding the principle questions in the development of individual labor activity. Leningrad has valuable -- although not always positive -- experience in this work.

[Answer] We know what we want and we know how this is to be achieved and what questions it is necessary to pay special attention to. A very great deal depends on how rapidly the council workers on the spot re-attune themselves. Complete responsibility for the expansion of individual labor activity lies on them. However, it is in this link that bureaucratism, sluggishness, and old ways of thinking are most frequently noted. In the very near future, we propose to listen to one rayispolkom's report on these questions in the Leningrad Gorispolkom.

In conclusion, I want to say that we have begun a necessary and important task. However, we have only removed the upper and easiest layer as yet. The work will be serious and long.

8802  
CSO: 1800/695

REGIONAL ISSUES

TALYZIN ON MEASURES TO PROTECT LAKE BAYKAL

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 87 p 3

[Interview with Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by TASS reviewer D. Smirnov; date and place not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] A miracle of nature, our famous and sacred Baykal is receiving a scientifically sound program for protecting its inimitable beauty and grandeur. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Insure the Protection and Rational Use of the Lake Baykal Basin's Natural Resources During 1987-1995," which was recently adopted, has been called upon to solve this problem in a fundamental manner. N. V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, talks about the document's main propositions in a conversation with D. Smirnov, a TASS reviewer.

[Question] Nikolay Vladimirovich, Baykal has always been loved by the people as a pearl of nature and as the national pride of their native land. It is sufficient to say that it is a sea-lake -- the largest on earth. It stores a fifth of the planet's fresh water and more than 80 percent of the surface fresh water supplies in the USSR. Its water is especially pure and limpid; Baykal water is the water of life. That is why the protection of this unique natural complex is a problem of special importance -- a problem that disturbs all Soviet people. Nikolay Vladimirovich, you are chairman of a special Baykal commission that was formed by the CPSU Central Committee. What has the commission done specifically and with what are today's ecological expenses in the region connected?

[Answer] First of all, I must point out that the Central Committee of our party and the government are paying unremitting attention to questions concerning the protection of the Lake Baykal basin and to the rational use of the kray's riches. As is known, a number of party and government decrees have been adopted on this question. All of them have brought a great deal of benefit. As a result of carrying out the complex of measures, the negative effect of the increasing economic activity on the condition of this region's natural surroundings has managed to be reduced.

However, the decisions, which were adopted previously, have basically not had an all-embracing nature. In this respect, it is necessary to keep in mind that the negative anthropogenetic effect on the natural surroundings noticeably increased and new sources of contamination appeared as production forces were expanded in the Lake Baykal basin. At the same time, various organizations also demonstrated a lack of discipline in carrying out the decrees, which had been previously adopted on protecting and rationally using the Lake Baykal basin's natural riches, and treated the solution of this important national economic task irresponsibly.

For example, strict and effective control over the carrying out of environmental protection measures was not organized, and the complete use of timber raw materials and other resources and the preservation of the forest's soil protection and water protection qualities were not assured.

Science also turned out to be unequal to the occasion. The work to forecast in a scientific manner and to evaluate in an integrated manner the effect of economic activity on the condition of Lake Baykal and the ecological systems in its basin was conducted without the required initiative by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and low-waste and waste-free production processes were not incorporated sufficiently energetically into enterprises whose production activity exerted a negative effect on the condition of the environment.

All of this did not remain unnoticed; it caused alarm in people. Many scientists, writers and community representatives, who were concerned about Lake Baykal's fate, addressed proposals to the CPSU Central Committee and central and local agencies for improving the protection of the unique reservoir and preserving the cleanliness of its environment.

The party's Central Committee established a special commission that included scientists, community representatives and the directors of local party and soviet agencies. The task of thoroughly and comprehensively examining the problem and determining practical ways to solve it in an integrated manner, considering the growing needs of the times, was assigned to it. The commission carefully studied the ecological situation in the Baykal basin directly on the spot.

Based on the estimates of specialists, the major amount of all mineral, organic and suspended substances arrives in the lake with the drainage from the Selenga River; the remainder -- from other inflows (approximately 500 rivers) and the Baykal Cellulose Paper Combine as well as from the air. Proposals on protecting the lake and on rationally using its natural resources were developed. These proposals, just as the comments from the local area, were repeatedly and thoroughly discussed during a representative meeting in the CPSU Central Committee and a session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and were approved in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

As you see, exceptional social and political importance has been attached to the rational use of the Lake Baykal basin's natural resources. The country must put the large riches of the region and of all Siberia to the service of

the people. In doing this, however, both the "pros" and the "cons" -- as they say -- must be weighed.

From now on and in the future, any economic and management activity in the lake's water protection zone must be carried out under special -- I would say, very strict -- control. Here, scientifically sound conditions for using the natural resources, which have been determined considering the preservation of the basin's unique natural complex, are the main reference point. The construction of new enterprises and the expansion of operating ones are only being allowed in exceptional cases with the permission of the RSFSR government.

The development of a general concept for developing production forces in the Lake Baykal basin and of a series of measures, which would insure the economic and social development of this region by observing the requirements to maintain a favorable ecological situation, has been begun.

A territorial complex plan for the environmental protection of the Lake Baykal basin, which will stipulate the appropriate conditions for using the natural resources and for carrying out economic activity in each rayon, will be developed and approved.

[Question] Nikolay Vladimirovich, our responsibility for Baykal is not only for our generation but also for future ones. How is this connection of time and generations considered in the document that has been adopted?

[Answer] Yes, one only has to look at this amazing lake.

Much has been written and said about Baykal. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it would not be superfluous to recall again and again that we are not talking only about a natural region in our country and its social and economic significance. The problem is broader and of a larger scale. It is also of global and world importance. Baykal is a unique phenomenon on the planet. Approximately 600 types of plants and more than 1,200 species of animals inhabit the sea-lake. In it, 50 types of fish dwell; of them, the omul salmon, grayling and lake sig salmon, for example, have food significance. Take the basin's forest assets -- approximately 20 million hectares of a very valuable vegetation community! Any loss of it is impermissible.

Matters in the region today are far from really being satisfactory in everything. In the rayon, we have more than 140 installations which are or could be sources of contamination for the Baykal environment.

Strict time-frames for the very rapid elimination of everything that contaminates the environment are now being determined. In the very near future, it is planned to construct, reconstruct and expand facilities for cleaning waste water at dozens of enterprises in the city of Ulan-Ude, settlements and railroad stations and to construct and reconstruct facilities for cleaning discharges into the atmosphere at many industrial enterprises.

An improvement in the system for conducting agricultural and timber operations in the lake's water protection zone is being provided. A considerable number

of warehouses for storing mineral fertilizer and pesticides will be built, protective tree plantings will be carried out, and antierosion steps will be taken.

In a word, it is planned to carry out a series of effective environmental protection measures at all industrial and agricultural enterprises, cities and settlements without exception.

Measures will be taken to regulate navigation and the shipment of freight on the lake and the rivers that flow into it; receive of water, which contains oil, from vessels at shore cleaning facilities; and halt the towing of wood in rafts on the lake and the organizing of its shipment in vessels.

The decree provides for measures to increase the attention paid to the water protection, soil protection and other useful qualities of the forests that are located in the Baykal basin. A coastal protective belt has been defined around the lake. Territory, which has been set aside for timber management enterprises (forestry), preserves and natural national parks, is included in it. Beginning in 1988, the felling of trees as a main use is forbidden here.

Integrated lumber enterprises for protecting, reproducing and rationally using the forests will be established on the base of the operating forest management and timber organizations. In the remaining rayons of the water protection zone, the procurement of wood must be conducted in strict compliance with scientifically sound rules for the complete renewal of forests.

It is planned to supply the firefighting service with special machinery and equipment in an amount that corresponds to their complete requirements. This should reduce to a minimum the losses inflicted on forest resources by fires.

[Question] In the press and on television and radio, the Baykalskiy Cellulose Paper and Selenginskiy Cellulose Cardboard combines are invariably mentioned as sources of contamination when discussing the problems of Baykal. What can you say on such a pressing question?

[Answer] The most modern cleaning facilities with a very high degree of cleansed water have been built at the Baykalskiy Cellulose Paper Combine. Considering the unique qualities of the water in Lake Baykal, however, it was decided to carry out the complete discharge of this cleaned waste water from the combine beyond the limits of Lake Baykal's water catchment area and to change the specialization of this enterprise to furniture assembly production during the 13th Five-Year Plan. Concerning the Selenginskiy combine it is planned to shift it to a closed water supply system. This will completely prevent the discharge of waste water into the Selenga River.

The above-mentioned combines will also be equipped with modern equipment for cleaning discharges into the atmosphere.

In order to arrange for the protection of the atmosphere, it is planned to carry out a number of important measures in the rayons of Irkutsk, Shelekhov, Angarsk, Usolya-Sibirskiy and Cheremkhovo.

They have been instructed to insure the building of effective facilities to clean stack gases emanating from power-generating boilers and to equip the Gusinoozerskaya GRES [State Regional Electric Power Station], Ulan-Udenskaya TETs-1 [Heat and Electric Power Station-1] and other enterprises with these assemblies.

Baykal is the beauty and pride of our land. The decree provides for multiplying its legendary fame. A long-range plan for developing a material base for tourism, sports, rest, medical resort treatment, and consumer services in the Baykal area will be developed within the next two years. In particular, it is planned to reconstruct and expand the Pribaykalskaya, Bukhta Peschanaya and Malomorskaya tourist bases; the Baykalskiy Bor Sanitorium; and the sanatorium resort establishments in the vicinity of Goryachinsk village (Buryat ASSR). All of this, of course, is connected with preserving the landscape, the plant and animal world, and the other natural riches of the kray.

[Question] Nikolay Vladimirovich, additional questions and problems can arise during the implementation of the measures that have been outlined by the decree. What will happen with them?

[Answer] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree formed an interdepartmental commission for controlling the condition of the Lake Baykal basin natural complex. It is attached to the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control. The composition of the commission includes scientists, ministry and department specialists, and representatives of creative circles and the community. The responsibility for insuring the carrying out of a single environmental protection policy in the Lake Baykal basin has been imposed on it. Its main concern is the examination of matters pertaining to the carrying out of environmental protection measures by enterprises and organizations in accordance with the special conditions for using its natural resources. The commission has been called upon to analyze the condition of the environment in this basin and to take timely steps to prevent the negative effect of economic activity on the zone's environment. The more active the participation, the greater the initiative and the more the interest of the ministries, departments, work collectives and all lovers of nature in solving Baykal's problems; the more reliably will it preserve its epic fame and wealth.

Local party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic agencies; enterprise and organization collectives; and the region's population must display constant concern for the cleanliness of Baykal and its surroundings.

Let us remember, however, that Baykal and the enormous territory, which is adjacent to it, are an important and vital potential for our country's east that has been called upon to serve as an accelerator for the country's social and economic development. Of course, it must be developed just as the other rayons in our country -- but very wisely, without damaging this inimitable earthly beauty.

8802  
CSO: 1800/695

REGIONAL ISSUES

LATVIAN RAYKOM SECRETARY ELECTED

First Secretary Elected

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 Mar 87 p 2

[Report by K. Zagorovskaya, staff special correspondent, under the "Party Life: The Time for Restructuring" rubric: "Right of Choice Exercised by Members of Gulbenkiy Party Raykom in Electing First Secretary"]

[Text] Who will be elected party raykom first secretary? This question was not at all rhetorical, and prior to the plenum I don't think anyone would have tried to answer.

"A. Masalskiy, who for three years headed the rayon party organization, was nominated to work at the CPSU Central Committee. And when the question of a replacement arose, we decided not to suggest candidates 'from above,'" relates M. Borbale, deputy chief of the organizational party work department at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. "Let the members of the party raykom name the candidates for office, and let them make the final choice among them themselves."

The proposal to make choices from several candidates was based on a solid foundation. Lately the party raykom has begun to operate with greater confidence and decisiveness. It has defined its own unique style of operation, the characteristics of which are the ability to politically supervise the economy; reliance on the primary party organizations; demandingness, and at the very same time, respect for the cadres. It is also significant that in recent years the aktiv has rallied around the raykom, and is united in its common devotion to the cause.

"While speaking with the members of the raykom about the forthcoming elections, I was delighted with the maturity of thinking with which the people approached the plenum," says L. Novikova, chief of the Gulbenkiy party raykom organizational department. "There was no doubt that the Gulbenites would choose as their leader a truly modern administrator, who is able to place the interests of the cause above his own personal concerns and subordinate all activities to his concern for the development of the rayon, both economic and social. But who exactly will it be--that is the question."

It was the first time that such an election of a raykom first secretary was held in the republic. And this testifies to the fact that the process of democratization of social life, the development of which was spoken of at

the 27th Party Congress and at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is gaining strength among us as well. Election of brigade leaders, shop chiefs and enterprise directors is increasingly becoming the practice. Prior to naming the minister of motor transport and highways, for example, the candidates for the office were discussed in the collective. One can cite numerous examples such as these.

But the first steps are always hard, and--we won't substitute wishful thinking for reality--there was a strong lack of faith in the novelty in Gulben; but, we managed to overcome that barrier.

"How will we be able to choose a secretary independently?" a number of people asked. "And from whom? Will we really be proposing candidates ourselves?"

Should one be surprised at such doubts? For a long time people have been accustomed to thinking that their entire responsibility lay in raising their hands at the proper time and supporting without reservation whatever was said from the rostrum.

The plenum was a lively one. The words of the speakers were permeated with a sense of their own importance. They were aware that they were playing a role, not as extras, but as genuine star performers with a decisive vote. Moreover, in describing those worthy of the post many of them began to speak --of themselves. At the time this was not unwanted, because it helped form a basis for one's opinion, which suddenly had become weighty.

K. Silinsh, a mechanization specialist at Komunars Kolkhoz: "I thought for a long time about who might replace A. Masalskiy, and came to the conclusion that we need a person capable of orienting on the changes currently taking place; one who is able to make his own way. I believe that the chairman of our rayispolkom, Ayvar Edgarovich Indzeris, is such a person. I know him well and therefore propose voting for him. I hope he is not offended that we are placing such a heavy burden on him."

D. Medvedyeva, party organization secretary for rayselkhoztekhniki [Rayon Administration, State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment to Agriculture]: "Prior to coming to the plenum I consulted with the communists in our collective, about whom to elect first secretary. And we decided to propose for that post our director, Vasiliy Ivanovich Zagoruyko. Why? I'll try to explain. He does not spare himself for the sake of the cause; he's able to get the collective to work closely with one another; and he is both demanding and principled toward himself and others. Just take a look at our enterprise--since Vasiliy Ivanovich has been in charge it has undergone noteworthy changes: the material-technical base has grown, and our everyday lives have improved. Zagoruyko has been a member of the raykom buro for many years; thus he is experienced in supervisory work."

R. Graubis, director of the domestic services combine: "I have nothing bad to say about the candidates put forth. But I have my own opinion, and I'll try to give the basis for it. I will be voting for the second secretary of the party raykom, Konstantin Mikhaylovich Zayakin. Some people may object that he is an 'industrialist,' and our rayon is an agricultural zone with

its own specific features. But look at how quickly and deeply he has looked into all our problems, and found a common language with the people: he is familiar with and understands the concerns of the people of Gulbenkiy Rayon. He knows the rayon well, and has mastered the Latvian language.

What I find attractive in Konstantin Mikhaylovich's character is his tactfulness, his willingness to hear a person out, and try to help him. He doesn't beat around the bush, but speaks the truth to your face. Among Zaykin's shortcomings I would include a lack of singleness of purpose: he has a lot of ideas, but doesn't always manage to implement them. Of course he is well aware of this weakness and is trying to overcome it."

Ye. Lietaviete, party organization secretary at Kolkhoz imeni L. Paegle: "I've known Ayvar Indzeris for 25 years now. I can remember when I was a livestock specialist and he had just come to us on the kolkhoz as a young kid, a probationary student. Even then I thought to myself that this person has a lot of sense, and that everything comes to him easily. He grew, but step-by-step and not by leaps; he followed his tough course honestly, not forgetting that he's the son of a farmer. Whatever he becomes--an agronomist, a sovkhoz director, chief of the agricultural administration, or a rayispolkom representative--he'll always be a worker."

The plenum goes on. And the scales tip more and more noticeably in Indzeris' favor. Speakers find more and more new arguments in his favor. But the promoters of other candidates do not intend to give up either. Typically, the moral categories are brought out: honesty, modesty, adherence to principle, simplicity--the very qualities that you wouldn't get from a "questionnaire" approach. Is such an approach really proper now, after the January Plenum, which stressed so strongly the importance of the moral qualities of leaders, in addition to their other qualities?

"No matter what the outcome of the voting, for all of us, the candidates for the post of first secretary, this day will not be forgotten," said Zaykin. "When they discuss your good points and your shortcomings aloud like this, whether you want to or not, you are forced into self-examination. Of course this process does not take place painlessly. We must learn to live in conditions of democracy, and it is clear that this will not be an easy lesson."

After the discussion, it was decided by majority vote to retain two candidates on the list on a secret ballot: Indzeris and Zaykin. Naturally, it was possible to write-in other names on the ballot as well...

One after another, the ballots fell into the urn. It was possible to leave the hall--a break was announced. But almost everyone remained in his seat and exchanged impressions with one another. And now in the gathering silence the chairman of the accounting commission declares: ballots cast were--55; 41 people voted for Indzeris; for Zaykin, 12. Other names were written in on two ballots: V. Trachuma, a Latvian CP Central Committee inspector; and D. Kaparshmit, director of metalware production at the Straume Production Association in Gulbene.

The candidature for chairman of the rayispolkom was held in like manner. But this does not at all mean that Konstantin Mikhaylovich Zayakin, who garnered fewer votes, and Vasiliy Ivanovich Zagoruyko, who by the will of the majority was not included on the ballot, were worse. After all, the choice was made from the best. It was simply a matter of holding what is not yet a habitual democratic procedure under which some are advanced, and others return to their places of work with a true understanding of a simple truth: there are several candidates, but there's only one post.

While the victor receives his laurels and accepts congratulations, it is the right time to thoroughly analyze what has taken place, and make certain conclusions for the future: the experience in Gubene will yet be of use to the republic.

The following are remarks from plenum participants:

V. Yefimov, a driver for MSO [Inter-Kolkhoz Construction Organization]: "I'm pleased of course. I voted for Indzeris, and he was elected. It's a good feeling, that a lot depends on you. But if I'd known beforehand how the plenum would proceed, I would have taken counsel with my own collective on whom to vote for. Maybe elections should be held in two stages: first, assess the candidates, then take a break for a couple of days, and then vote?"

M. Kalninya, chairman of the inspection commission of the rayon consumer's cooperative society: "Without a doubt the one who was elected is a worthy person. But we too have been given added responsibility: we've chosen him ourselves; and we ourselves must help the new secretary."

Indisputably these are important conclusions: a great process has been begun and with the passage of time it will probably be difficult to imagine how elections could ever have been held otherwise. Nor is there any doubt of the fact that the procedure itself must be improved. For example, the candidates could familiarize the voters with their programs for action ahead of time. Nor would it be excessive, perhaps, to hold preliminary meetings and interviews at party organizations and collectives. In short, all means must be subordinated to a single purpose--that the people, after freely stating their opinions, would chose the most deserving leader.

Choosing from two or more candidates is not a game in democracy, but a genuine step toward restructuring. In order for our republic and every rayon to attain acceleration, leaders everywhere must be people who totally dedicate themselves to their work. Let's be frank: we're only at the very beginning of the journey. We haven't tried everything out yet, but there will be no return to the past. I think that this unusual plenum at a party raykom will provide a new impulse to our work.

Democratization is a condition of restructuring: this is already axiomatic. Soon there will be another election in Gulbenkiy Rayon--for the chairman of the ispolkom of the soviet of people's deputies...

Pugo Comments on Election

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA In Russian 5 Mar 87 p 2

[Text of comments by B.K. Pugo, Latvian CP CC first secretary: "The Course and the Results of the Election"]

[Text] This is the first time I've been present at such an election. I wanted to make sure myself whether or not it is a little too early to undertake election of party raykom first secretaries in a new manner. It is true that we already have quite a bit of experience in electing leaders. Suffice it to cite the practical experience in electing middle-ranking cadres, which has recommended itself well at the Kommutator Production Association. It was approved by the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro as early as 1985 and was recommended for wide dissemination. Presently, enterprise directors, farm administrators, rectors at LSKhA [Latvian Order of Labor Red Banner Agricultural Academy], RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Association] chairmen and many others, are not appointed to a position as before but are elected. The contest for a replacement for the position of RAF [Riga Bus Factory] director has attracted a great deal of attention throughout the country. In all more than 5,000 leaders at various levels have already been elected in the republic.

And so, while taking part in the work of the Gulbenkiy Raykom party plenum, I became convinced that we were not mistaken in placing our faith in the party aktiv to decide for themselves whom to elect first secretary. That decision found support among all the raykom members with whom I managed to speak. Moreover, we knew of the conflict with the instructions on elections in party organizations, that instead of open voting there would be a secret ballot. But restructuring without new approaches is simply impossible.

Of course many questions have arisen; for example, just what is a secret election? Well, apparently that is when it is known how many have voted for a candidate and how many against, but the person elected must not know just who they were. And what will happen if each candidate receives an identical number of votes? Hold another round of voting, perhaps? Or increase the number of candidates? Another question which comes up is, can one be certain that preference in an election would be given to a candidate who presently holds a lower-ranking position than another candidate?

Or here is another problem, which we had not even considered in the past: Should one consider a person who desires to become leader a careerist? We've long become accustomed to thinking that "modesty is becoming to a person," and that "the deserving will always be noted and promoted." But how many examples can one cite to refute this? And then what's so bad about it if one specialist or another considers himself competent and wants to prove it at the head of the collective--moreover, the one which has placed its trust in him? Nothing at all, as M.S. Gorbachev said, befell the RAF in a similar situation.

Another side of the problem is the position of those candidates who received fewer votes. Are they less deserving than the one to whom preference was shown? Not a bit. After all they chose the best from the best, who had the

honor to stand for election to a vacant position. And each of those who was placed on the ballot for election can be proud of that fact. Certainly an appropriate entry should be made in one's personal dossier. It seems to me that not only did Zayakin and Zagoruyko not lose their standing in Gulbene--on the contrary, they gained prestige.

But there is another feature that must be considered. Until now we have chosen our leaders, as a rule, in sound and mature collectives. But now this process will be expanded. And here it is very important not to permit conflicting situations to arise among the supporters of candidates for leadership positions, especially when the election is over. This is the paramount task for party committees and primary organizations in the new conditions. They must rally the collectives together and cut off attempts by demagogues to sow distrust in the elected leader.

It is also important that the leader elected by the collective accept the criticism leveled at him while his candidacy was being discussed; and that he does not try to suppress those who had criticised him and take revenge on them later--which unfortunatly has happened among us. Party organizations must also keep track of this and carefully monitor such occurrences.

While visiting the working collectives and conversing with communists and non-party workers, including those in Gulbene, I became more deeply convinced that we must seriously devote ourselves to increased openness when selecting the cadre reserve. We must accustom the people to the fact that without a doubt some comrades will be recommended who up to this point had not worked in a given collective, nor in the rayon. This is only natural: we need more highly-skilled, well-trained leading cadres, who have completed their schooling in party, soviet and economic work. But those who will be voting for them will not be satisfied merely with data from the candidate's dossier. They must know of him all the earlier, especially if he is in the cadre reserve. And here we must not give free rein to politically immature people, those who love the easy life; to those who, fearing for their future under a new and demanding leader, somehow start to try to discredit him while he is still in a "probationary candidate" period.

I think that in a few years such questions will not even come up. The principle of democratic centralism has always existed among us. And no one has abolished it. But if previously by force of circumstance, and later because of inertia, reliance was placed on centralism--where conditions were dictated only from above--now, after the 27th Party Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, democratic principles are increasingly consolidating their position. Distortions in implementing the principle of democratic centralism are being eliminated. There are still a lot of things we are not accustomed to; moreover, much that is not clear. We must look for the answers, and find them. But it is also characteristic of restructuring that the new things which encroach upon our lives will increasingly change it for the better.

TURKMEN SETTLERS IN AMUR PROFILED

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 12 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by V. Sinyutin, deputy chairman of the TuSSR State Committee for Labor and candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "Our Far Eastern Region": "Welcome to the Land of the Amur"]

[Text] No matter where large-scale national economic work has been undertaken in our Motherland, it cannot be managed without joint efforts by representatives of the working people of all fraternal republics and nationalities of our country. "There is not one fundamental problem which we could resolve in the past, as well as now, without taking into account the fact that we are living in a country of many nationalities," M. S. Gorbachev stated at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. And these words are firmly corroborated by history. The biographies of the Land of the Soviets attest to this. So when it was required to provide a transportation link between the republics of Central Asia and Siberia, a railroad 4,452 kilometers long was built in the late 1920's in a short period of time. It was built by Russians and Turkmens, Ukrainians and Kazakhs, Belorussians and Uzbeks, Armenians and Tajiks, Azerbaijanis and Kirghiz...

Or let us recall a more recent project--a major construction effort of the present century, the Karakum Canal imeni V. I. Lenin. The entire country and all peoples of our great Motherland took part in its construction. The development of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan, construction of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline], development of the non-chernozem lands and the Far East became a most striking example of solidarity and the very highest degree of organization among all the nations and nationalities.

New work called our fellow countrymen to a journey--to develop the lands of the Amur region. Skillful hands were required for the Far East, and the residents of the Turkmen SSR responded to the call immediately. Persons had doubts and questions before they decided to move to the remote region, of course. What kind of a land is it?

The Order of Lenin Amur Oblast, in which agricultural resettlement from Turkmenistan has been under way for 6 years, is a very rich region. The oblast is stretched out over 364,000 square kilometers. The natural wealth is also a match for the large area--gold, coal, iron ore and other minerals, that is, nearly all of Mendeleyev's table is represented.

The Amur's expanses are a green sea of taiga in the northern part, and a network of full-flowing rivers. And the Amur is the father, as they fondly call it here--one of the largest waterways in the world. There are also steppes here that are no less extensive than those of the Ukraine, the Kuban, and Kazakhstan, and even sands like those of the Karakum.

Over the years of Soviet rule, the Amur region has been turned into one of developed industry and large-scale agricultural production. The oblast's enterprises turn out over 600 kinds of products--the output of shipbuilding and machine building, building materials, and equipment for grain-receiving centers and livestock-breeding farms.

Amur Oblast is not called the granary of the Far East without reason. Its contribution to the Food Program of the USSR is a major one. More than half of all areas under crops in the Far Eastern region are concentrated here. Favorable natural and climatic conditions make it possible to grow different crops--wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, cucumbers, tomatoes, cabbage, corn, soybeans and peas--and to raise livestock.

There are 145 sovkhozes and 67 kolkhozes and 3 integrated poultry farms in the oblast. There 367,000 head of cattle and a large number of pigs and poultry on the farms and in the complexes. Hardly a village will be found today where production buildings and structures, dwellings and cultural and general service projects have not been built. There are 16,400 tractors, more than 2,000 of which are high-powered, over 7,800 different combines, 8,000 trucks and a great number of other types of equipment used in the oblast's economy. There is 60 horsepower of energy-producing capacity per worker in agriculture.

The oblast takes care to provide the best possible relaxation for the workers. If one wishes he can go to a dramatic theater, a puppet show or the symphony here. Hundreds of libraries, clubs and movie theaters, and regional museums open their doors wide for the residents. Noted artists and musical, dance and dramatic collectives and ensembles in the country are frequent guests in the Amur region. Amateur artistic groups and people's theaters work in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Students receive an education in six higher and 20 secondary specialized educational institutions and 30 vocational and technical schools.

But there are also serious problems, of course. One of them is that increased agricultural production is being held back by the limited manpower resources. For this reason, soviet and economic organs are continuously appealing for assistance to other republics and oblasts where there is a surplus of manpower resources. So more than 800 families have been resettled in Amur Oblast from our republic in 5 years. Most have them have been assigned to farms.

The state grants important privileges to those who are resettled--it transports the families and their belongings free of charge to the new place of residence, which they reach in trains that are made up especially. At the same time, the head of the family receives a grant of 200 rubles and each family member receives 75 rubles free of charge. Our fellow countrymen immediately receive separate houses or comfortable apartments with outbuildings for raising cattle and poultry, as well as a plot of land for growing potatoes and vegetables. The resettled families have free use of electricity for lighting and are exempt from the agricultural tax. Altogether, the privileges remain in effect for 8 years for credit obtained (to acquire individual housing for the rights of ownership).

Many persons in the Turkmen SSR are interested in the details--how have our fellow countrymen established themselves in the Amur region? In 1983, the Turkmenbaya Tadzhibayev family was resettled on the "Rassvet" kolkhoz in Konstantinovskiy Rayon. There are 11 in the family, and the youngest was born at the new location. The head of the family works as the manager of a livestock farm. Three of his children have completed schools in the city of Blagoveshchensk and are working in their specialties. The industrious Tadzhibayev family has cattle, calves and poultry and obtains a good harvest from its personal plot. Monthly earnings for the family are good.

All those who have been resettled in villages of the Amur region have cattle, pigs and poultry on their individual farms. Good crops of potatoes, vegetables and melons are harvested from the personal plots. Enthusiasts lay out gardens and keep bees. Every family has a television, refrigerator, washing machine, and gas stove and many have motorbikes and motor vehicles, that is, they have lost nothing with the move, and many have acquired much more.

For example, here is what Mikhail Nurnakhmetovich Khuznakhmetov, assistant brigade leader for livestock raising at the "Novokiyevskiy" sovkhoz, writes in this regard: "Exactly 3 years have passed since I stepped on Amur soil. Everything is fresh in my memory. I remember my uncertainty before leaving for here. I think I was worried for nothing. I am glad that I was not mistaken in my hopes.

"Many questions troubled me: how will they welcome us, how will they receive us and will they give us good housing and work, is the school far away, and everything like this that a person cannot do without today, right down to the nature and the fishing. After all, it happens that in conducting propaganda for a move they promise 'mountains of gold,' but people arrive at the place and think about going back. Nothing like this happened with me and my family. They greeted us with bread and salt, as is the custom. We arrived at the "Novokiyevskiy" sovkhозin Mazanovskiy Rayon. We received a three-bedroom apartment, a garden plot, potatoes for seed, and a cow. They gave us a grant of money. We were interested right away where I would be working. And when they learned that I like to raise livestock, they suggested that I go to the farm. So if someone wants to test his strength on the soil of the Far East--welcome! There is enough work for everyone. And hospitality and a heartfelt reception here are traditional, as I was convinced."

Boris Sharliyevich Kuliyev moved to the "Margaritovskiy" sovkhoz in Mazanovskiy Rayon from Ashkhabad Oblast, where he had worked as a gas-arc welder on a gas pipeline. He is working in his specialty at the new place of residence. The sovkhoz gave Kuliyevich a house and a private subsidiary farm. One cannot manage without a farm in the countryside--after all, fresh milk and meat are needed.

People from Turkmenistan who have been living in the Amur region do not forget each other. They are friends with and help each other. So Boris Sharliyevich is training his countryman Aleksandr Varastov in the skills of a welder.

And here is one more letter from the Amur region--from electrical engineer Gennadiy Mikhaylovich and his wife Lyudmila Nikolayevna Kononkov, who moved to the village of Vodorazdelnoye in Amur Oblast from the city of Kushka. They wrote that a year after their arrival, that is, by the next harvest, they had developed their garden plot. They stored up cabbage, tomatoes, cucumbers and potatoes for the winter and even sold 300 kilograms of potatoes to the state. The Kononkovs have confidently blended in with rural life. In addition to their basic work, they made an agreement with the sovkhoz to raise a bull calf and three pigs, which provides the family with extra income.

Gennadiy Mikhaylovich writes: "I am happy that my mother and brother have settled in well. Mama, Antonina Ivanovna, is working as a teacher in the Sovkhoz nursery school, and brother Sergey is working as an arc welder. And I have no regrets at all that I moved here to this remote area. We are learning a great deal about life in other republics here. People of different nationalities--Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tatars, and Turkmens--are working on the sovkhoz. Only work, don't be lazy! Work will be found for everyone!"

Every person who moves to the Amur region recognizes his public duty to the Motherland and the people to develop the new region. This work requires strong young hands, of course, and patriotism that has been fully realized. Recently two young Turkmen girls, students in the fourth year at the Institute of Russian Language and Literature, asked us to send them to Amur Oblast for work after they complete their VUZ studies. Such a patriotic act deserves attention and approval by planning organs, and by the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education first of all.

We hope that the important state work will find a broad response in the hearts of Turkmen SSR residents. Every family can obtain details on resettlement and the advantages at the labor departments of oblispolkoms, which systematically advertise and provide advice in the periodical press.

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## GEORGIAN OPPONENT OF TRANS-CAUCASUS RAILROAD REBUTTED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 13, 27 March 1987 carries on pages 3-4 Vakhtang Licheli's 2,400-word article, titled "Let Us Reason Together," expressing strong objections to the construction of the Trans-Caucasus Railroad (started in 1986) on various ecological, historical-archeological, cultural, economic, and social grounds. He makes reference to an earlier article by Akaki Bakradze [a sometimes controversial writer and academic] and backs up his arguments with quotes from certain Russian publications in which the authors have stated that the overall design [proyekt] is full of uncertainties and omissions.

Licheli complains that the project was begun "in haste" and without due consultation with archeologists, cultural historians, those concerned with monument and wildlife protection, ecologists, and so on. As a result, he says, priceless monuments face "certain destruction," as do archeological sites and, not least, valuable farm and orchard lands. Already, some monuments and sites have been damaged (and even pillaged in one case), partly because of wrong planning but also due to sloppy construction practices.

The author questions the necessity of the project at all, and states that the arguments advanced for it today are virtually identical to those of a century ago. But today, "the railroad is not the only means of efficient transportation"; hence, the project "represents a step backward." He accuses the proponents and designers of the project of being ignorant and of not caring for their heritage.

Finally, author Licheli calls upon those who do care to speak up and block the project, even as the grandiose Siberian River reversal project was junked last year and the Moscow War Memorial was blocked more recently.

Licheli is rebutted at length in LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO No 16, 17 April 1987 on pages 3-4 in a 2,700-word article titled "The Trans-Caucasus Railroad--Problem of the Century" and signed by Revaz Sigua, chief engineer of Kavgiprotrans, Nikoloz Svanishvili, chief engineer of the project, and Omar Kutsnashvili, chief geologist. They sketch the history of the project, how the final route was decided upon with the endorsement of all governmental, social, and institutional bodies concerned, and emphasize all the benefits--economic, social, cultural, and so on--that the completed railroad will bring not only to the Soviet Union as a whole but to Georgia

specifically, including especially the inhabitants of the rugged highland rayons through which it will pass. These benefits include vast savings in passenger and freight transport time and kilometrage, a lightening of the overload on Georgia's existing railroads, economic and social revival of partially depopulated districts, improved cultural and infrastructural amenities, jobs for the local population as well as the 6,000-strong construction workforce now released from the recently completed Marabda-Akhalkalaki Railroad and the Zhinvali Hydrocomplex, the development of resort facilities, and even reinforcement and protection of lands now subject to devastating floods, mudslides, and avalanches.

The authors acknowledge that some adverse effects on the land are inevitable, but they are greatly offset by the benefits. Moreover, the project's funding includes monies earmarked for ecological, archeological, and related works as well as for land rehabilitation and compensation for dislocations.

They then refute in some detail the various points raised by Licheli and are especially scornful of certain of his claims, which are simply "not true." They also note that the objections expressed in, for example, GUDOK and SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA (cited by Licheli) have been answered definitively.

Finally, they take him to task for his "superficial and tendentious accusations," especially his claim that his opponents are ignorant and uncaring about their heritage. As for the highlanders themselves, they welcome the prospect of new roads, better amenities, more cultural facilities, and the revival of ghost towns.

The authors state that Licheli's article is an example of how today's openness and democratization can be distorted to become an avenue of "disinformation" to mislead the public and "harm our common cause."

#### SVANETIAN REFUGEES RESETTLE PERMANENTLY IN SOUTH GEORGIA

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 2 April 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "Be Happy!" Gruzinform correspondent A. Nekreselashvili's 400-word article about families from disaster districts in highland Svanetia [mainly Mestia Rayon] who have now settled permanently in Udabno, Sagaredzho Rayon [itself a long-abandoned but recently revived village]. The article focuses on particular families, their children who are only now resuming school after months of weather disruption, and the kinds of jobs the newcomers are taking--for example, feed processing but also party posts. Between February and March, some 52 families totaling around 300 persons have been placed in dormitories or individual apartments with all the amenities, including radio and telephones [possibly a misprint for televisions]. Soon, the newcomers say, "we will be real Udabnoans." The Sagaredzho Rayispolkom is supervising their settlement, drawing for funding on the 170,000 rubles allocated to Udabno from the republic Aid Fund.

Recently, Mestia Raykom First Secretary Murad Ushkhvani visited his transplanted countrymen to see how they are doing.

#### NEW GEORGIAN SCIENCE ACADEMY CHIEF QUIZZED ON INTENTIONS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 15, 10 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 900-word editorial piece, titled "Twelve Questions for the President of the Georgian Academy of Sciences," in which the editors question the recently installed president, Albert Tavkhelidze, about the state of Georgian science and his intentions as to ways and means of developing them. "Unlike your predecessors in the past, you have made your accomplishments almost entirely outside Georgia [chiefly as director of the Moscow Nuclear Research Institute] and so are unknown to most of our readers. We hope you can find time to answer... After all, relations between science and society are a two-way process."

The editors ask Tavkhelidze [born 1930] why he agreed to take the post, what problems plague Georgian science and what the academy's leadership can do to correct them. They remind him that the capital-to-worker ratio [fondovooruzhennost] in Georgian science is but half the all-union level and that Georgia's share in science spending is declining.

Next, the questions deal with prospective trends in Georgia's technical and natural sciences, the role of the hard sciences in the nation's spiritual development, and how the humanities departments will fare.

Question No 7 reads in full:

In the world of science, there are always individual scientists or collectives who shape progressive trends and serve to "polarize" science. The scarcity of such "polarizers" in any national scientific establishment can lead to a kind of "colonization," such as is being experienced not only in the developing countries but also in some European countries. Whom do you see as polarizers in Georgian science?

Subsequent questions concern the problem of "continuity" between generations of scientists and how this is affected by age restrictions in leadership posts; whether the president has enough power to effect restructuring or whether there might be too much "tutelage" from higher organs; the academy's recently gained rights of maintaining independent liaison with colleagues abroad; the gap between the academy's "intellectual resources" and the number of foreign patents granted; and the fact that severe restrictions imposed on scientists' outside work (teaching) has hurt the VUZes, inasmuch as the scientists lack direct contact with students.

#### GEORGIAN WRITERS COMPLAIN ABOUT SOCCER OFFICIATING

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 15, 10 April 1987 carries on page 16 under the title "A Comment From Sector 9" a 400-word letter signed by distinguished writers Chabua Amiredzhibi, Mukhran

Machavariani, Guram Pandzhikidze, Sargis Tsaishvili, and Tariel Chanturia, complaining that in soccer matches between teams from Georgia and Russia (or other Transcaucasian republics) there is a pernicious "tradition" that "only Russian referees have the privilege of officiating." The letter is in response to a 5 April telecast on problems of soccer officiating, but this particular point, say the authors, was unwittingly or deliberately passed over.

The authors refer to several matches, including those between Russian or Georgian teams and the Armenian team Ararat, which have been officiated by Russian referees--surely the Armenians have plenty of competent referees. This "anachronistic tradition" needs to be "denounced."

A 300-word reply to the above "comment," signed by the Georgian State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, appears in the No 16, 17 April 1987 issue of the same weekly. The authors of the reply express "surprise" that the authors of the original letter should complain about "a 'problem' that has never faced Georgia's athletes, soccer players, or referees." They explain that referees are assigned to upper league matches by a special commission within the All-Union Soccer Federation, and that referees are assigned "from neutral cities...on the basis of qualification." It is, in fact, qualification that matters--not the referee's nationality.

The rebuttal goes on to note the necessity of upgrading Georgian referees' qualifications. At present, only two Georgian referees are qualified to be head officiators in upper league play.

The article concludes by reminding these "esteemed writers" that "our recent past and the concerns of today confront Georgian writers with urgent tasks, and it is on these that they should bring to bear their primary focus, not the issues you have raised."

#### NEW PARIS GEORGIAN STUDIES JOURNAL REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 15, 10 April 1987 carries on page 16 Sergo Turnava's 800-word review, titled "New Issue of a French Journal," of the first issue of REVUE DES ETUDES GEORGIENNES ET CAUCASIENNES, published in Paris. It represents a continuation of BEDI KARTLISA: REVUE DE KARTVELOLOGIE. The latter was founded in 1948 first as a "historical and literary journal" [actually a Georgian emigre journal] and published exclusively in Georgian until 1957, after which it was converted into a more general scholarly periodical publishing both foreign and Georgian domestic studies in French, German, and English. BEDI KARTLISA had to cease publication in 1984 after its guiding light, Kalistrat Salia, became too ill to carry on.

The new journal continues the later tradition, with articles, reviews, biographical and bibliographical notes, and the like concerning all aspects of Caucasian linguistics, literature, arts, history, archeology, and related disciplines. The director until his recent death was George Dumezil; his post then devolved upon the editor, Giorgi Sharashidze [French spelling

Charachidze]. The present review lists the names of the editorial board and the associated scientific council (all Europeans or British). The journal is financed by the French National Research Council and a number of other academic institutions.

The contents are sketched briefly. They include a debate about Indo-Europeanist Tamaz Gamkrelidze's acclaimed latest work, articles about Svan folklore, Georgian medieval hagiography, and a number of other pieces by European and Soviet Georgian scholars.

In conclusion, the reviewer mentions a piece by Dominique Gauthier-Eligulashvili, secretary to the editor, calling for close contacts with Georgian academic and research institutions, with the aim (among others) of acquiring books and other published materials. The reviewer endorses this idea wholeheartedly and urges the relevant libraries, institutes, and VUZes to provide the necessary help.

#### HIGHLAND SVANS FORM NEW COMMUNITY IN SOUTH GEORGIAN RAYON

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 21 April 1987 carries on page 1 under the title "Here Will Be a Garden City" Gruzinform correspondent I. Kvaratskhelia's 400-word article reporting the formation of a new community in Lomtagora, a site a few kilometers from Marneuli, for Svans resettled from the disaster zones of highland Mestia and Lentekhi rayons. The construction of housing to accommodate 150 families in two-story multi-dwelling apartment buildings has been started. Farm plots have also been provided for. Guram Mirianashvili, chairman of the State Construction Committee, is quoted as saying that buildings will be designed according to traditional Svan architecture, with electricity and running water installed. Public facilities will include a department store, clinic, and schools. Bus service will be instituted.

The site was chosen carefully after considering numerous locations in the republic. Geological, hydrological, and employment aspects were important considerations. The Mestians and Lentekhians have approved the choice.

Numerous subcontractors are involved, and help has come in from Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and North Ossetia. Residences will be ready by the end of 1987.

#### TRANSPLANTED SVANS 'WILL NOT LOSE LANGUAGE, TRADITIONS'

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 25 April 1987 carries on page 4 under the recurring heading "Disaster and Men" a 1,500-word KOMUNISTI interview with State Labor Committee Resources Chairman Rusudan Dzhaparidze and Aleksi Robakidze, head of the Ethnography Department of the Dzhavakhishvili Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography, addressing many Svans' fears that their countrymen who are being resettled from their homeland (highland Mestia and Lentekhi rayons) are in danger of losing their distinctive language [genetically related to but mutually

unintelligible with Georgian] and customs and that Svanetia itself will become depopulated.

In her part of the interview, Dzhaparidze focuses on the demographic, economic, and logistical aspects of the massive Svan resettlement necessitated by last winter's weather disasters but constituting as well the continuation of an on-going program, in place on an organized basis during the past two or three years, designed to relieve centuries-old overcrowding in that land-short district. She elucidates the efforts of the various governmental agencies involved, including her own, and notes the kind of liaison that had to be implemented with authorities in the lowland rayons where the Svans are being received and where the locals have welcomed them with open arms and provided housing, jobs, schooling, and other benefits.

Numerous abandoned villages are being revived, and new ones built, to accommodate the Svans. New kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and industrial affiliates will provide jobs. To foster preservation of Svan community features, language, and culture, settlements are to be "compact" and, for the most part, will comprise households transplanted from particular Mestia or Lentekhi villages; each new community is to number at least 100 households. A number of the new locations are named and the villages where the settlers originated noted.

Dzhaparidze states that eventually, a total of 1,200 Mestian and 700 Lentekhian families will be resettled--selected for the move exclusively from Svanetian districts which are most disaster-prone. Thus, the population of Mestia Rayon will be reduced by around 29 percent, Lentekhi by 23 percent. "But Svanetia is in no danger of being depopulated." Instead, arable hectarage per inhabitant there should rise slightly from a present level that is but one-third the republic average, thus benefiting the district's economy and relieving overcrowding. Moreover, this program will prevent "uncontrolled" emigration and in that way enhance Svanetia's economic development.

As for fears that the transplanted Svans will lose their language, Dzhaparidze states that "historically, emigrating Svans have never lost their traditions."

In his part, ethnographer Robakidze sketches the contributions the Svans have made to the formation of "the Georgian ethnos" and at the same time notes that, "like the Karts [Georgians proper], Lazes, and Mingrelians [other distinct but related ethnic and linguistic subgroups], they have still managed to retain their language and character." He then focuses on aspects of Svanetia's somewhat lagging economy, a central role in which is played by livestock breeding. To improve that economic sector, the experience of Soviet and foreign livestock breeders (in particular, Switzerland's) must be thoroughly studied and appropriately adopted. Tourism and alpinism should also be promoted. Will the transplanted Svans ever go back to Svanetia? That will be for them to decide.

On the same page KOMUNISTI carries a 200-word 9-quatrains poem by Akaki Gelovani [himself a Svan] titled "Song of Fidelity," which notes rapturously that "Svanetia's borders have been widened...Because wherever Svans are, there is Svanetia."

REGIONAL ISSUES

BRIEFS

AZERBAIJAN POPULATION GROWTH--The Central Statistical Administration of the Azerbaijan SSR has analyzed the change in the republic's population that has occurred over the past year. The overall population increase amounts to 102,800, exceeding the average yearly increase during the previous 5-year plan by 2 percent. This increase was due primarily to natural population movement, and partially to an increased birth rate and a somewhat lower mortality rate. There were 186,609 live births in 1986. The birth rate increase was a result of efforts on the part of the state to provide aid to families with children, in particular by paying a one-time benefit upon the birth of a child, by providing monthly allowances, and by offering financial assistance to poor families. Azerbaijan is the sixth largest republic in the USSR behind the RSFSR, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Belorussia in terms of population. With respect to its birth rate and mortality rate, Azerbaijan occupies 5th place and 14th place, respectively, among the union republics. [Azerinform] [Text] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 5 Jul 87 p 1]

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